

Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Kaktovik

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Subsistence Resource Harvest Patterns: Kaktovik

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Alaska OCS Environmental Studies Program

Subsistence Harvest **Areas: Kaktovik**

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List of Acronyms Used

ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish and Game
A E w c	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
ANCSA	Alaska Native Clasims Settlement Act
ANWR	Alaska National Wildlife Reserve
ARCO	Atlantic Richfield Company
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
DEW-Line	Distant Early Warning Line
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
KIC	Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation
NSB	North Slope Borough
POW-D	Abandoned DEW Line Station at Collison Point
TLUI	Traditional Land Use Inventory
USF&WS	United States Fish and Wildlife Service
USGS	United States Geological Service

PREFACE

The Minerals Management Service (MMS) had conducted a good deal of research on the North Slope prior to this study, much of it having a direct bearing on subsistence activity. Other than for the ongoing studies in Barrow and Wainwright, however, such research has taken a general approach to subsistence and has provided little information on the spatial dimensions of North Slope subsistence harvest activity. Non-MMS research has approached subsistence activity from this viewpoint, but is either relatively inaccessible or not oriented towards MMS concerns for EIS purposes. This project was to document such land use patterns for the community of **Kaktovik** for MMS, using the work that presently exists supplemented by a short (one month) period of **field** work.

The ultimate goal of the **Kaktovik** subsistence harvest areas study was to describe the pattern of harvests of wild resources by **Kaktovik** residents, emphasizing a geographical perspective. There were three explicit components to this ultimate goal. The first was to compile site-specific information on **Kaktovik** hunting sites, both from the literature and from field work in the village. The second was to contextualized this site-specific information by gathering information on several broader research questions concerning site use, changes in the pattern of use through time (potentially both for individuals and the community as a whole), and the role of subsistence in village life. The third component was to produce the actual report integrating the material from the first two components with the work partially completed for Part A of this project.

Organization of the Research

This component of the study was designed to emphasize **field** work and the collection of new information based on maps produced by Part A of the project. This maps, in turn, were based primarily upon the literature. The main source was apparently the Traditional Land Use Inventories (**TLUI**) produced by the North Slope Borough (**NSB**). The **TLUIs** have some inherent difficulties as a primary source of data. Locational information is often ambiguous or lacking altogether, Site numbers are not always unique. A complete map of **TLUI** site locations is not available, and those partial maps that have been published are too small to accurately reflect other than general locations and also contain several inconsistencies regarding the specific placement of various sites. Other sources, and especially the more useful and recent work done in the community, tends to be unpublished and relatively inaccessible. Perhaps for these reasons, the maps prepared for Part A (by a separate contractor) contained both errors of commission and omission that required a great deal of time to unravel (both in the field and afterwards). It is still not certain that all sites are located with complete accuracy, as complete field verification of all sites was not possible -- many pieces of contradictory information only became apparent after the field portion of the work was over. This required that the field worker/analyst make the most informed decision that he could on the basis of the information available.

Organization of the Report

The report itself is organized into three sections. The first is a discussion of the history of wild resource use, the resources involved, **seasonality** and timing of harvest activities, changing resource and land use patterns, and factors affecting land use. A general discussion of the effects of industrial development, the **Inupiat** perception(s) of such development, and local attitudes toward development and resource management **in** general is also part of the first section of the report. References are made to specific sites inventoried in section two of the report when appropriate. This second section of the report is essentially an inventory of subsistence resource harvest sites and areas. Information on the use characteristics of the site or area (species involved, timing, **location**, and so on) are presented **in** a standardized format. This is the specific information that forms the basis for the more general discussion and analysis contained in section one. Section three of **the** report is the bibliography of references used and data sources available.

There are several types of maps produced for this report. The primary map product, as specified by the contract, is a set of acetate overlays for the USGS 1:250,000 maps for the study area. Each of the sites inventoried in section two of the report is mapped on the appropriate overlay, except for those which are on maps which for reasons discussed **in** the text are not considered to be in the present-day **Kaktovik** primary land use area (Barrow, **Ikpikpuk** River, **Teshkepuk**). In addition, it was felt that such point mapping potentially greatly misrepresented **Inupiat** subsistence activities, **so** that a similar set of acetates illustrating the areas exploited for certain resources was also constructed. This follows the discussion in the text of section one, so that the rationale should be found there. Because of the expense of producing the acetate overlays, and at the request of MMS, we agreed to try to produce a set of similar 8.5" by 11" maps for inclusion **in** the text volume. It proved impossible to reduce the specific site map to this size within our time and budget constraints and have it remain usable. The area maps were modified so that each small map depicts the area used for one species only on a regional study-wide basis (that is, information **from** **all** component 1:250,000 maps is shown on one map). This not only make logical sense, since it is the large regional pattern that is of interest anyway, but also was a practical necessity. The color coding on the large acetate overlays is too complex to reproduce in black-and-white, and the only option **to** presenting all species on one partial study area map was to present information on each species separately on a standard regional study area map. These ten maps can be found in Appendix A. They are intended to be informational only and are interpretable only in conjunction with the text **from** sections **one** and two, In no way should these maps be taken **as** definitive.

Community Sample

The use of survey instruments was expressly forbidden for this research, so there was no formal sampling strategy and no attempt was made to provide quantitative measures for harvest amounts or frequency of site use. Not only are these sensitive issues which are

difficult to investigate, but they would also have required far more time than was available. Similarly, any systematic investigation of sharing almost requires a formal interviewing instrument and a fair amount of time. The approach taken in this research was thus a pragmatic one of mapping sites and areas used with those identified by community members as active subsistence hunters, discussing those issues defined as most pertinent with those same individuals as well as with individuals identified as important for other reasons (community leaders, Elders, other knowledgeable persons), and attending the key public events occurring during the period of fieldwork (public hearings, council meetings, and so on).

The sample which resulted was far from a complete sample. For this reason the maps, and especially the area maps, can not be considered to be definitive. While it is probable that most sites of primary importance have been mapped, there are very likely some sites which are not on the maps. This is especially true for sites which have more importance in a cultural sense than for strict subsistence activities. Only areas of major significance which are also discussed in the text are mapped. It is extremely likely that **Kaktovik** hunters use areas outside of those mapped on a fairly regular **basis**.

While the sample is not a complete one, it is more than adequate for the purposes of this research. As stated above, the purpose was not to document the amount and frequency of subsistence activity (although such information was not ignored if it was readily available) but rather to map and document the sites (and areas) within which subsistence areas took place. Informants understood this distinction quite **well** and often asked who had already provided information. They would then tend not to talk about areas they perceived as already covered. A few direct questions on the part of the researcher was usually adequate to cross-check information in the areas of perceived informant overlap and almost invariably the information had a high degree of agreement. Hunters have very complete information about where others go to hunt, although seldom will they talk about the subsistence activity of others to the researcher, saying that they do not want to misrepresent what that person does. Villagers in general share a map of the land around **Kaktovik** that is quite similar (although the knowledge varies in detail from person to person).

Not as many **Elders** were part of the sample as had been hoped. This was partially due to the difficulty of finding translators on short notice within the village. Most Elders can communicate in English, but are much more comfortable and eloquent in **Inupiaq**, especially when discussing a topic of such cultural significance **as** subsistence. Several Elders also perceived the research as redundant of the NSB effort which produced the **TLUIs** and so did not want to participate. They did not want to answer the same sort of questions yet again. This is unfortunate, given the problems with the **TLUIs**, but understandable and their refusals were respected. This makes the information on **TLUI** sites used for subsistence in the past but not so much now weaker than it otherwise would have **been**, but the primary emphasis of this research was on contemporary subsistence sites.

Introduction

The research from which this report has resulted was oriented towards mapping subsistence resource harvest sites used by hunters from **Kaktovik**, and then collecting current information about the use of these sites. This inventory function was the **primary** task of the research and this information is presented in **inventory** form in section two of this report. Section one deals with more general treatments of broader questions related to subsistence in **kaktovik** -- a general description of the current yearly round, how that is different from the past, the effects of oil development upon subsistence activities, factors influencing who uses what sites or areas and at what times, and so on. The list of issues treated is not exhaustive, but is a product of the concerns that were expressed by informants during the field collection of site-specific information. A parallel study was also conducted in **Nuiqsut** (Special Report No. 8) and provides good comparative **information**, although the development of this comparison was not part of either project.

The focus of our portion of the research was on contemporary subsistence harvest site **utilization**, along with some concern for how this has changed from the past (and the effects of oil development in particular). The **TLUI** lists can be a potentially misleading starting point for such research for any of the NSB Native communities, because of the way in which they were compiled. Elders were asked where the productive subsistence resource harvest areas were and where they themselves had lived and hunted. Given the changing conditions of life on the North Slope (the consolidation and mixing of the population into a relatively few fixed communities, the increased importance of wage labor, scheduled activities, and so on) it is not surprising that the **TLUI** reflects a pattern of subsistence utilization very different from that of the present day. This **question**, as interesting as it is, was not a focus of this research and is treated only in a preliminary and mostly historical discussion (the present-day relation between subsistence, wage labor, and the cash economy is addressed by several sources -- see **Kruse** 1982, **Kruse** at al. 1983, **Galginitis** et al. 1984, **Worl and Smythe** 1986, **Impact Assessment** 1989, 1990). The more limited goal of this research projects was to document current patterns of subsistence activity as they are related to specific harvest sites.

The **TLUI** as a list derived from a given number of informants is also associated with the community of residence of those informants. In many cases, however, the information actually does not relate directly to that community, as the informants were living somewhere else (or "many places else") at the time for which they are providing the information (anywhere from the early 1900s through the 1960s for the **TLUI**). **Kaktovik**, as is true of most other NSB villages, is a community made up of people drawn from a number of different regions. Many of the Beaufort Sea **TLUI** sites associated with **Kaktovik** on the **Beechey** Point map, for instance, reflect the mobile living patterns of **Inupiat** before the formation of the NSB. **Kaktovik** itself was not established as a fairly permanent village until the 1920s and served as more of a service center than as a residential community until the formation of the NSB (although the construction of the DEW-Line station also significantly "stabilized" the residential population, at least for a time). Thus, **TLUI** sites reflect a more

mobile, seasonal, and expansive use of the land to the west and east of Kaktovik than is evidenced currently. Part of this pattern dates back to the 1900s or earlier and so is also involved in the Elder recollection of earlier times and the previous residence issues. This will be discussed in a general historical section dealing with changing subsistence utilization patterns over time.

The **TLUI** lists for the various communities have also tended to increase the overlap in the perceived land use areas of those communities. There is no doubt that there is overlap in the areas actively used by the hunters from the different North Slope communities, but it is just as clear that most North Slope hunters have an fairly **clear** cognitive idea of their community's "home territory" and that it is relatively well-defined and separate from that of the other communities. This is not to deny the reality of the value that any **Inupiat** is free to hunt anywhere, since the "home range" idea and the "freedom to roam" value are both held at the same time. This will also be discussed **in** a separate section. The **TLUI**, by setting down in permanent form the areas and sites used by a very mobile **population**, which later consolidated into several different permanent settlements, has made the question of "land use area" a very complicated one indeed.

For purposes of our reports on **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**, we have made the pragmatic decision to define the land use areas of the communities pretty much where the active hunters do. This makes for minimal overlap (primarily in the **Flaxman** Island and **Sagavanirktok** map area) and does not misrepresent the current behavioral pattern to any large extent. The overlap is to a large extent a product of the subsistence utilization patterns of previous generations as reified by the **NSB TLUIs**.

The pattern of subsistence harvest site utilization can never actually be **fully** documented in any event, since it is a pattern in constant change and by necessity is a function of many variables interacting in a complex manner. The most that can be hoped for is as detailed **an** understanding of the concrete behavior as can be observed or documented, combined with an understanding for the values and perceptions that shape the hunters behavior within that pattern. This is-the task that had been set for out discussion.

Site Entry Format

Previous work has attempted to present the known information on the sites identified in a systematic way. Unfortunately, this work was rife with inconsistencies, incomplete entries, and inaccuracies. We have attempted to improve on this by using a similar approach with more attention to execution. The information for each site or **areas** is presented in the same format, using a standardized data template. Where information is missing or not known that area of the information grid is either left **blank** or annotated accordingly. Time did not allow for us to check which sites are included in Ed Hall's archaeological survey of the North Slope. Since this survey took place after the **NSB TLUIs** were compiled and has not as yet been incorporated into the **TLUIs** or the literature, this **is** potentially a rich

source for information on the cultural significance of sites. For this reason we have left a field for this information in our database.

The information fields we have used are:

- Site Number
- United States Geological Service (USGS) map the site is located on
- Inupiat** name if site
- English name of site
- Meaning of the **Inupiat** name
- Alternate name(s) for the site
- Descriptive location for the site
- Coordinate location for the site (NSB **TLUI**, Orth 1967, Nielson 1977a)
- Site number for the site in other references
- General use of the site
- Access to the site
- Features of the site
- Specific use of the site
- History of use of the site (and origin of English name)
- References

It will be noted that we have chosen to organize our primary list by site number and USGS map location. This reflects our guess that most users will be looking at the maps first and consulting the data rather than vice versa. Therefore, in section two we have grouped **all** the sites that appear on one map sheet together and list them in increasing numerical order. They are not in exact numerical order as we have tried to preserve some logical relation between our site numbers and those of the **TLUI**. This has not always proven to be possible due to the problems of the **TLUIs** themselves, but we have done our best.

Perhaps the most important point that we can make is that the information in this report and on the accompanying maps is far too easy to misuse or misinterpret. We have not compiled a complete site and area **inventory**, nor do the maps adequately represent the complex behavioral patterns that comprise the present subsistence pattern of Kaktovik. This system is in constant flux and no static description or **single** point in time can give an adequate understanding of mechanisms within the system which allow it to adapt to normal fluctuations, or to respond and change to new and different conditions. We have tried, in our narrative **discussion**, to contextualized the site and area information. This is especially important for the maps presently harvest areas, since they in no way represent total use areas. Rather, they are meant to emphasize certain portions of the total use **area**, which are discussed in the text. It is our hope that this will enable the users of these products to understand some of the complexities of subsistence in **Kaktovik**.

Subsistence Patterns

Any analysis of historical **Inupiat** settlements and settlement patterns must be considered on a regional or subregional basis, not on a strictly site-specific basis. **Inupiat** villages were not self-sufficient entities, but were conglomerations of people who could utilize individual mobility and shifting patterns of kinship and political alliance to respond to the vagaries of resource availability and changing economic and sociopolitical exigencies (and the same generalization can be supported for current villages). Villages might be situated at any of a number of sites, especially at places where different resources overlapped, and most especially near a reliable source of fresh water. Within an **area**, a village and its associated residents might move in response to changing conditions -- closer to or farther from the sea or the source of fresh water, onto higher ground or into the wind shadows of mounds and **tussocks**, upstream or downstream. Individuals might move outward from the centralized living area in a village into more **peripheral area**, and back again (a pattern most commonly associated in the modern period with fur trapping and reindeer herding in the 1920s through the 1930s). Different villages or sites would be used at different times of the year, mostly in response to the differential availability of subsistence resources. Most barrier island habitation sites, for instance, were primarily used in **winter** when marine mammals and in some localities (**Tigvariak** Island for one) were locally available, **while** resources inland were more sporadic. Most fishing locations were used in the fall **and/or** summer. If used for both seasons such sites **could** be used as a year-round habitation spot. Cross **Island** and some of the other barrier islands were used as seasonal habitation sites because of their **proximity** to bowhead whales. However, it was typical for people to move from one living site to another during the year and to **settle** in different villages, sometimes in widely divergent **area**, for widely variable periods of time over the course of their lifetimes. **Inupiat** life involved a cycle in which concentrated but temporally circumscribed activity within an intensively familiar hunting territory alternated with travel to widely dispersed and far more unfamiliar areas across the northwestern arctic (and beyond). Many of these same dynamics can be observed **on** the North Slope today, although sometimes only **in** attenuated forms.

1. Prehistoric and Contact Period

Any detailed treatment of this pattern is beyond the scope of this report. Anderson 1984 provides an introduction to the **prehistory** of northern Alaska, and VanStone 1984 provides a similarly brief treatment of the exploration and contact period (and into the "modern" period). The reader interested in more detail, especially in regard to the daily rhythms of life and how these may have changed over time, is referred to Amsden 1977, **Gubser** 1965, Murdoch 1892, **Sonnenfeld** 1957, and Spencer 1959 (these sources may not have this topic as their central **concern**, **but** certainly contain a good deal of information on the subject). There is no treatment of this period specifically oriented toward **Kaktovik** (but see Wentworth 1979 for a summary), but Bockstoe 1986 discusses in general the influence that whaling had on **Inupiat** population dynamics and the distribution of people over the landscape. For Kaktovik the most important aspects seemed to be the transportation of

many **Inupiat** from further west to the **Kaktovik** area and further east, and the attraction of many Canadian **Inuit** to Herschel Island and then areas farther west (around Barter Island). The current population of **Kaktovik** has been derived from this mixture. Impact Assessment 1989:17-20 discusses this pattern in a more general regional context.

After contact, the flux of group formation and reformation undoubtedly intensified, as demographic patterns were substantially affected by the availability of resources from Euro-Americans, the effects of these same Euro-Americans on the availability of subsistence resources, and the introduction of new disease vectors. During the postcontact period, **Inupiat** groups formed and reformed (often along kinship or **proto-kinship** lines) in reaction to sudden and unforeseeable population changes. The present population of Barrow, for instance, is descended for the most part from interior **Inupiat** who had replaced the original coastal population by about 1890, after they had succumbed to epidemic disease (**Oswalt 1967:234-235**). **Kaktovik**, after the decline of whaling, coalesced around a trading post established in the 1920s and attracted people from the MacKenzie to the **Colville**.

2. Postcontact Period

It is only from the early twentieth century on that reasonably good information on where people lived and hunted on the land is available, primarily through the NSB **TLUIs**, various NSB research programs which taped interviews with Elders, and the recollections of new informants. In as much as we will be concerned with historical patterns of land use, it will be this period from about 1900 that will be our primary concern.

In 1923 the Gordon family moved their store to Barter Island from Demarcation Point, where they had lived since 1917 (prior to that time Tom Gordon had worked with Charles Brewer in Barrow and other North Slope locations). Apparently this move was made because Tom Gordon's wife had relatives who had taken up residence on Barter Island because of its location in relation to fishing spots and the mountains (**Kaveolook 1977**, Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:3**). The nascent settlement also was a more viable location for the trading post, which in turn increased the desirability of Barter Island as a place for families to live. People still lived on the land and traveled extensively, but **Kaktovik** had become much more of a central service center than before (Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:3-4**, Libbey **1983:15**).

Later in the 1920s reindeer were brought into the Barter Island area. It is reported that reindeer herding combined with hunting kept people out on the land for most of the time, although their residential focus was Barter Island. Reindeer herding was a family business, with each family having a defined herding area. **Taakpaq**, the famous whaling captain from Barrow (but sometimes referred to as a **Kaktovik** whaling captain) herded in the area between Beechey Point and **Brownlow** Point. Richmond **Ologak** herded from **Brownlow** Point east to the **Sadlerochit** River, while the **Akootchooks** and **Tiglooks** herded between the **Sadlerochit** and Jago Rivers. **Gallegher** Arey and Mickey Gordon herded from the Jago

River to Demarcation Bay (**Libbey 1983:15**). Reindeer herding in the **Kaktovik** area ended in the late 1930s or early 1940s. A number of reasons are cited, such as excessive predation by wolves, competition of the increasing wild caribou herd for food and the difficulty of keeping the domestic reindeer herd separate from the wild **stock**, the slow (or non-existent) development of a market for reindeer meat and other products, and the decreased interest of the **Inupiat herdsman**. The involvement of non-Natives in the industry, as government administrators, business managers, and (during certain periods) as herd owners certainly had a great effect upon **Inupiat** participation and interest in the industry. An assessment of the relative weights of these factors is hardly possible, since almost all studies of Alaskan reindeer have focused on the Seward **Penninsula** and seldom mention North Slope operations. The interested reader is referred to **Andrews 1939**, **Grosvenor 1902**, **Jackson 1904**, **Koughan 1931**, **Miller 1935**, **Olson 1969**, **Ray 1983**, and **Stem 1980**.

The areas used for reindeer herding were not “owned” in any formal sense, but because of the **usufruct** required for efficient herding, subsistence activities tended to follow the same boundaries. These family associations with specific land territories survived the demise of the reindeer industry in the **Kaktovik** area (late 1930s or early 1940s) only to a **limited** degree. Hunters tend to hunt the land they know best, and those people who grew up herding in a certain area tended to hunt there even after there were no more reindeer herds. Through time, however, those people with direct reindeer herding experience have passed on and the younger generation, for the most part, has learned to hunt mainly from a fixed residence in **Kaktovik**. This has had the effect of “standardizing” the areas used (and learned) for subsistence harvest activities. The exceptions to this generalization will be discussed in a later section.

Trapping also supported a dispersed **population**, although that population tended to focus itself on a supply center where furs were traded for consumer goods of various sorts. There was the trading post on Barter **Island** run by Tom Gordon (K-40 and K-41, then K-18), but also Jack Smith at **Beechey Point** (N-102 of the companion **Nuiqsut** study), Henry Chamberlain at **Brownlow Point** (K-42), John Olson at **Imaignauraq** (K-29), **Old Man Store** at Demarcation Bay (K-38), and others as well. These trading posts tended to change locations (and proprietors) depending on the productivity of the trapping territory surrounding them. The decline of the fur market in the **mid-1930s** caused many of these trading posts to **close**, and other traders died (Tom Gordon died in 1938, John **Olson** in 1942) or simply moved elsewhere. The net result was that by the 1930s and 1940 there were few trading posts **left** and people once again dispersed -- some to Canada (the **MacKenzie**, where a trading post remained open) or Barrow or other places. A core population remained in the area, maintaining a mobile subsistence lifestyle (**Libbey 1983:16-18**).

In the **mid-1940s** the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey began mapping the Beaufort seacoast, with their main base camp on **Tigvariak Island**. Several relatives of present-day **Kaktovik** residents worked on this project and spent time at **Tigvariak Island**. In 1947 the Air Force began construction of the airstrip in preparation for the construction of a DEW-Line station there. This required the relocation of the village. A BIA school was opened in Kaktovik

in 1951. The combination of the school and the availability of local wage employment supported a population influx which stabilized at about 140 people. It remained pretty much at this level until the late 1970s, after the establishment of the NSB resulted in more local employment opportunities and an increased (and improved) housing supply (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:5).

3. Post-NSB Period

The period of time since the establishment of the NSB has been one of increased economic stability in **Kaktovik**, in terms of wage employment, and a modification of the schedule of subsistence activities to accommodate steady wage employment. This is not a static **system**, however, and it would be foolish to assert that any sort of equilibrium has been reached or that wage labor as a scheduling force will always remain as important as it is at present. There is currently (1990) only one subsistence specialist in Kaktovik -- that is, an active hunter who does not work for wages and supports himself by hunting and trading the game he procures for whatever he needs that he cannot harvest himself. Another individual in this household provides the cash income required to buy fuel, pay utility bills, and so on. All other hunters participate directly in the wage economy, and more than a few wage laborers do little or no hunting.

The Yearly Round in the Late 1970s

The “subsistence cycle” of today is not that of the **distant**, or even the not-so-distant, past, for reasons discussed above. Before examining the most recently collected data in detail we will first summarize the subsistence yearly cycle as constructed for the Kaktovik of the late 1970s (Wentworth 1979:98-105, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:29-33). This should allow some comparative statements to be made, to the extent that the pattern described for the late 1970s represents actual behavior. Such comparisons are especially useful in discussing the role of wage activity in the scheduling of subsistence pursuits and perhaps for a discussion of attitudes toward development.

Kaktovik Harvest Cycle by Species in the Late 1970s

The main references for this section are Jacobson 1979:98-99,101-104 and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:29-30,35-68. Kaktovik subsistence activities are for the most part determined by the type of transportation that is possible. During snow-free months, mid-June through September, subsistence activities are confined almost exclusively to the coast and ocean. Most rivers in the Kaktovik area are too shallow for boating. The other eight months of the year Kaktovik hunters use snow machines to hunt both the coast and the mountains. The mountains are considered the primary harvest area for this period for most

species. The preferred travel routes are along the frozen river beds, although some tundra travel does take place, especially in coastal areas.

Caribou are harvested year-round (except for breakup), with the greatest peak in early July through late August, and two secondary peaks from **late** October to late November and from late February through March or April. The **latter** two periods are dependent upon the amount of snow cover and the amount of light available. Sheep are usually taken from mid-October to mid-December, **and** a special Dan sheep hunting season was created in 1979 in recognition of this. Sheep have also been harvested from January through March or April, but only when hunters were short of meat. Moose are hunted **by** only a few hunters, **and** usually only on an opportunistic basis. If moose are seen and no other game has been encountered, a hunter may take one. The moose season is essentially the same as the sheep season. Brown bear are taken as the opportunity arises, usually inland in April or early May, or on the coast in July. Not many are harvested. Fox are trapped along the coast and on the coastal plain during the dark winter months through April or even May. Success is variable from year-to-year, but the village averaged over 100 foxes per year in the late 1970s. Wolves and wolverines are shot and trapped during this same period, but usually further inland. Ground squirrels are taken in March and April, probably **in** conjunction with fishing and hunting birds. Birds are taken mostly in the spring, May through early June, and continues at a **lower** level through September (although the chart shows substantial activity in April and harvest activity throughout the year). Most ptarmigan are taken in the spring when they **are** most concentrated, but can **be** hunted through **out** the **year**. Fresh-water fish are **taken** from mid-October through May, mostly by jigging through the ice and **at** two peak periods, mid-November and March through **April**. Ocean fishing, with nets, is **much** more productive and takes **place** in August through early September. Whaling takes place from late August (at the earliest) through early October. **Beluga will** sometimes be seen **and** taken during this same period. Seals are hunted throughout the year, but relatively few are taken. Most seal hunting takes place by boat when there is open water. Polar bear are taken on an opportunistic basis, mostly **to eliminate** nuisance bears near whale butchering sites or **in** the village.

Kaktovik Harvest Cycle by Month in the Late 1970s

The main sources for this section are Wentworth **1979:98-101** and Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:29-33**. The year is divided into two main seasons, summer and winter. Summer is the time of open water, long days, mild weather (by North Slope standards), and relative species abundance. Subsistence activities are confined to the coast, for the most part, since the rivers are too shallow for boat travel and the tundra is too wet. The subsistence range is much greater in the winter, as the mountains become accessible. Fewer **people** are active in subsistence activities in winter, however, and trips tend to be shorter and more intensively focused on the actual harvest activities.

Snow usually begins to fall in August, although there is not usually enough snow cover for snow machine travel until mid-October. The last part of August or early September is when whaling can be expected to start. Preparations will have been underway for some time, but actual whaling will not start until the cooler weather and whales have actually been seen. August is also a prime time to harvest caribou in most North Slope villages. **Kaktovik** is no **exception**, except that they are not always as available as earlier in the summer. Once whaling starts, interest in harvesting caribou declines. Similarly, August is an important month for net fishing in the ocean. Good fishing will continue through September, but must be integrated into whaling activities. This is usually not too difficult to do, since fishing with nets does not require a great deal of time other than to check the nets (and process the catch), most nets are set close to the village, whaling itself is done from the village within an area not far from the village, and most households who fish have individuals who are not engaged in the day-to-day activities of whaling who can tend to the nets.

September is devoted mainly to whaling, although the yearly cycle chart also indicates that this is a peak period for the harvest of seals, that fishing continues, and that birds and caribou continue to be taken. Once whaling is completed (a matter of several weeks, although it can range from only a few days to six weeks or so) people will start preparing for the winter season. Travel inland is still usually difficult in September, so as long as the water is open coastal subsistence activities will continue.

Freeze-up usually occurs in September, but maybe delayed until October. Sufficient snow for travel inland usually accumulates by mid-October. This allows travel to the mountains, especially to the major subsistence sites along the **Hulahula** River. These sites will be used as base camps for the pursuit of multiple species -- fish (jigging through the ice), sheep, and caribou are the main ones. Sheep especially are the focus from mid-October to **mid-December**. Caribou are harvested as encountered, and fish are caught as a subsidiary activity. The yearly cycle chart indicates that sealing continues, as does polar bear hunting and birding.

These activities continue through November until mid-December, when the limited amount of daylight, the weather, and the holidays prompts hunters to stay in the village. Hunting and trapping furbearers begins sometime in late October or early November for **fox**, and early December for wolf and wolverine. This activity is reported to continue throughout the winter, except for the holiday season, **Polar** bear are also said to be hunted at this time.

In January and February people are said to begin making trips to the camps in the **mountains** again. They will harvest caribou and sheep if they need meat, but not otherwise as the animals are not in prime condition. Fishing can take place, as can hunting for moose. Polar bear, seals, and birds are also reported to be hunted in this period. Furbearers are also said to be sought in this period.

Trips to the mountains really start to increase in March and April, however, when the days begin to get longer and the weather begins to moderate. Winter fishing is best at the

Hulahula fish holes from late February through early April. Some caribou are taken **in** this period, as well as an occasional moose. Sheep may also be **taken**, but again only if there is a shortage of meat. Wolf and wolverine are still **taken, as** their **fur** is desirable until May. Seals, polar bear, birds, and moose are also said to be taken in this period.

April and May are reported as the most important months for ptarmigan and ground squirrel. The last trips to the mountains of the season are often made to hunt squirrel and ptarmigan. Hunting of migratory waterfowl begins along the coast in late May or early June. The last trips to the mountains maybe combined with the first trips for waterfowl hunting. People will go to the coast and set up camp, head inland to the mountains for squirrel (hunting ptarmigan along the way), and then return to the coast to hunt birds. Seal and caribou are still reported **as** being harvested in this period as well, as are sheep.

Waterfowl are harvested close to Barter Island in early June, since snow machine travel is increasingly difficult at this time of year because of lack of snow cover. Seals maybe **taken**, as well as some caribou. Later in June subsistence activity decreases as the snow cover **is** nearly gone but the coastal waters **are still** frozen. Breakup, **in** June or **early July, is a** period of no subsistence activity, as **travel** is not possible by either snow machine or boat.

Breakup is usually complete sometime in **July**, and subsistence activities increase markedly. This is a peak time for the harvest of caribou, since they are concentrated on the coast. This peak period can continue through August. July is **also** an important month for net fishing for arctic char. August and September are important for arctic **cisco fishing**.

Inupiat Whaling in the Historical and Post-NSB Periods

Definitive information on the antiquity of whaling in the regions of the North Slope east of Barrow does not really exist. Informants maintain that whaling took **place** at Barter Island in aboriginal times. **Hall 1987** and **Hall and Associates n.d.** would provide information **in** this regard, but the efforts previous to ours neglected to incorporate them and there were insufficient resources (time and money) for this failing to be corrected (they are not **easily** available sources). In more of a summary **publication**, Hall states that the available archaeological evidence provides only the most meager cultural history **(1981:48)**:

Essentially, there is no **unequivocal** evidence of occupation in the area previous to 4,000 years ago, precious **little** data on the nature of human adaptation in Arctic Small Tool tradition times, and only enough information from the more recent sites to broadly outline a picture of human occupation in the past 600 years [the late prehistoric].

For the late prehistoric, there are only three well documented sites. One, **Niglik**, is a specialized activity site. The lack of systematic archaeological testing at this site has resulted in an inability to establish prehistoric roots for the **Niglik** trading fair. Little has been recovered at this site that would address the subsistence behavior of the people using the site. Thetis Island prehistoric remains have been dated to **A.D.** 1350-1500. There is evidence of whaling activity, but both the nature of the tools and **faunal** remains found there support a subsistence pattern oriented toward caribou (50 percent) and seal (25 percent), with the remainder representing birds, foxes, whales, and various small animals (25 percent, in that order, so that whales must have been a relatively infrequent catch, given their large size relative to the other resources being harvested). Pingok Island prehistoric remains have been dated to **A.D.** 1550-1700. Land subsistence activities are well represented in this archaeological assemblage as well, but common seals and whales are as well. Bearded seal and walrus are not well represented, but overall it appears that whaling was a significant activity form Pingok Island during this period. The interpretation of this information in terms of cultural history is far from clear (Hall 1981:4-49,71-73).

Cross Island has been reported by **Inupiat** informants to have been the site of whaling activities for hundreds of years, and so could date back at least to the late prehistoric period. It is known that **Taaqpak**, a whaling captain Spencer (1959:154) places in Barrow, whaled **from** Cross Island from the 1920s to 1940 or so (Carnahan 1979:25-31). **Taaqpak** was one of several **Inupiat** who bought boats from whalers or traders in the 1920s, and a history of such transactions, especially as they affected **Inupiat** whaling, would be very informative. Such a history has not been written, however, and would **likely** require extensive research with no guarantee of ultimate success. In any event, **Taaqpak** also had a reindeer herd in the area and many of the men on his whaling crew worked for **him**, and some of those with reindeer herds to the east of him also whaled with him. It is not known for sure if **Taaqpak** ever lived in **Kaktovik** or had that community as his center of orientation, but many of those who served on his crew did. It is certain that many of those people now whaling in Kaktovik (and **Nuiqsut**) received their training while whaling in the Cross Island area with **Taaqpak** (or from someone who had learned from such a person). Thus, although whaling in the **Kaktovik** area proper is not documented prior to 1964, Kaktovik people did have whaling experience (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:52-53).

It is not altogether clear why whaling was suspended in this area. It is probable that the decline of the reindeer industry prompted most of the people who had been in the area to relocate to Barrow or **Kaktovik**. Certainly, this made the area effectively **more** distant for the purposes of whaling, since there were not even semi-permanent residents in the immediate area. The **Colville** River area was also experiencing depopulation at this same time, Schools and wage labor jobs were serving to attract people off the land and into central communities.

It is also not quite clear what prompted people to start whaling out of Kaktovik in 1964. Information is not complete, but it appears that whaling has taken place out of Kaktovik for most years since **then**, with a high degree of success (Braund et al. 1988:Appendix 1, page

14). After the formation of the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC), **Kaktovik** received a formal quota and has taken an average of between one and two whales a year since then.

4. The Yearly Round in Present-Day Kaktovik

We do not claim to possess complete knowledge about subsistence activities in **Kaktovik**, so that the following discussion is nor definitive. What is intended is an update of the Jacobson and Wentworth information and an examination of the areas where there appear to have been **interesting changes** (or where the 1970s information may have been more normative than behavioral). We **will** start with a species-by-species description in terms of harvest and sites (or areas) utilized.

A. *Caribou*

Jacobson and Wentworth (1982:35) state that caribou “is the staple and most preferred land mammal in Kaktovik’s subsistence diet.” Informants would not dispute that caribou is the most frequently harvested **and** most commonly eaten land mammal (and perhaps overall) and that it is a much desired food. Most, however, seemed to have a definite dietary preference for sheep. Sheep, being far less accessible than are caribou, are not harvested nearly as frequently, so that caribou certainly contribute more to the food supplies of the village.

The limited information available indicates that somewhat over half of the caribou harvested by **Kaktovik** hunters are taken in the ice-free “summer” period of June through September. All of these animals **are** taken at or near coastal sites, and since a significant number of “winter” harvested caribou are taken at these same sites, well over half of all harvested caribou have been historically taken at coastal sites (**Pedersen and Coffing** 1984, **Coiling and Pedersen** 1985, **Pedersen** 1990, and more generally, **Wentworth 1979:99**). Village informants have the impression that the harvest pattern for the last several years may have been significantly different from the historically documented one. We were not able to collect quantitative information in this regard and so can only report on what informants related to us in a qualitative way.

The Summer **Harvest** of Caribou by **Kaktovik Hunters**

Caribou are perceived as a species that is normally abundant and reasonably available, although this has not been true the **last** several years. This is especially true of the summer (late June through August) when informants say that there are normally caribou **all** along the coast. Kaktovik hunters harvest caribou **in** the summer using boats for transportation and the normal **Kaktovik** summer use area is from the Canadian border to Tigvariak Island. In most cases hunters seldom use, or expect to use, this entire area. To the west some

hunters refer to the Canning River as their “Berlin wall” because of the oil exploration and drilling which restricts and/or deters their crossing it, while to the east the area beyond Griffin Point/Pokok Lagoon is usually avoided because of the lack of safe anchorages in the event of sudden bad weather (see the discussion of “use areas” below). Also, caribou are normally expected to be so common in summer that few informants would anticipate a long trip before harvesting what they needed, and few informants pointed out specific summer harvest sites until prompted to do so. Travel is so extensive and caribou so numerous that they can almost be taken anywhere along the coast. The only exceptions are those areas where the water is too shallow near the coast for boating. Caribou frequent these areas, but are not easily accessible to hunters.

The above notwithstanding, certain areas were pointed out as areas that were normally especially productive in summer, or at least as areas where caribou harvests most frequently took place (this could be a function of hunters simply using the same areas most of the time). Since most of these locations correspond to similarly defined areas in recent work on caribou done in Kaktovik (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:35-39, Pedersen and Coffing 1984, Coffing and Pedersen 1985, Pedersen 1990), it is possible that this mode of presenting the data is a result of the informants’ knowledge of this previous work. In any event, there is strong agreement with this previous work. The areas identified as especially productive in the summer are KA-803 (just east of Bullen Point), K-1 (the Canning River delta), K-3 and several other areas on Camden Bay (K-5, K-6, K-59), K-16 (the mouth of the Okpilak and Hulahula Rivers), K-805 and K-806 (the area on the mainland south of Barter Island), KA-807 (the mouth of the Jago, even though it is shallow), KA-808, K-27 and KA-809 (Griffin Point and Pokok Lagoon), and the area around K-32 (the west side of the Aichilik River delta). It is interesting that this list does reveal a disposition to hunt caribou west of Barter Island rather than east of it. It seems that boating conditions beyond Griffin Point (K-27) and certainly beyond Nuvagapak (K-32) are more unpredictable and generally worse than to the west. This holds true for whaling as well. Thus, it appears that most caribou harvested east of K-32 are taken on trips to and from Canada to visit relatives.

Most of these summer coastal harvest areas for caribou are also harvest sites for other species, most commonly fish and/or birds. Seals may also be taken in some of these areas. The nature of these “multiple use” sites will become clearer as this discussion progresses, but many of these harvest areas are used as camps where people will sometimes stay for extended periods of time. At other times, of course, hunters will simply harvest caribou as quickly as possible and return to the village. To paraphrase one informant, hunters go until they see caribou, harvest what they need or want, and return. In most cases they do not have to go far nor stay out long, unless they desire to do so for some other reason (a break from the village, scout the area for other available resources, or whatever).

The Winter Harvest of Caribou by **Kaktovik** Hunters

Most informants draw a distinction between “fat” summer caribou (harvested July-November) and “lean” winter caribou (harvested January-April). Most **Inupiat** informants report a difference in taste, which most **non-Inupiat** informants say they are not sensitive too. Most **Inupiat** prefer summer harvested caribou, but find both to be good. Since few people harvest a year’s supply of caribou in the summer (preservation being one **problem**, availability of the caribou another, and time **to** hunt a third), it is often necessary to hunt in the winter for fresh meat. In most cases this **will** be a caribou, although it could be a sheep if there were no caribou to be found (or even a muskox if one of the few permits allocated **annually** had been obtained).

Just as for the summer, caribou are perceived normally to be relatively abundant and available in the winter/spring (October through April) **season**, when they are harvested using snow machines for travel. A significant difference **from** the summer is that informants spontaneously volunteered information on where the most productive winter caribou harvest areas were. Evidently in winter caribou are not as **widely** or evenly spread over the land as in the summer, and hunters are more constrained in their travel routes, **although** they have access to a larger total area. The differences in these two factors of distribution of the target species and mode of transportation would seem to account for the difference in talking about where the animals are harvested. There is also the possible effect of informant awareness of previous research, mentioned above. Also, the importance of **the** winter harvest of caribou has increased in the past several years as the summer harvest has declined, due to the caribou spending **little** time on the coast in the summer. **Inupiat** perceptions of the cause for this, the effects it has had, and possible ways to respond to the **situation**, will be developed **below**. One effect that such a shift may have is an increased sensitivity to where caribou are in the winter, since this has been when they have been most reliably harvested the last several years.

There are clearly two sorts of areas for the winter harvest of caribou by **Kaktovik** hunters. One group of sites or areas is along the coast or on the coastal **plain** (K-3 and **KA-822** by Camden Bay). The other is in the mountains (**KA-832**), and overlaps with the area used to hunt for sheep (and moose and muskoxen on the few occasions when they are hunted). An adequate understanding of caribou hunting is not possible in the absence of a consideration of the sites used as base camps, and such a consideration will not be possible until after a more general discussion of each individual species (see “Base Camps and Hunting Strategies”). These “mountain caribou” are said to be most often found in the **lower** elevations between what are considered the “real” mountains, which is a good typification of the area around the **Kekiktuk** which comprises most of **KA-832**, the primary caribou harvest area in the mountains. Sheep can be found in this same area, but not as regularly and spend a good deal of time in higher elevations. Moose tend to stay closer to the rivers in denser vegetative cover. Informants say that coastal winter caribou harvest areas have also been fairly unreliable in the last few years and that most hunters now go to the

mountains as a first choice unless they have information that caribou are available on the coast.

B. Moose

Kaktovik hunters do not hunt moose very much, although most hunters know where to go to find one if they do wish to harvest one. There are only a very few hunters who will go out with the purpose of taking a moose, and a few more who will shoot one if the chance arises. Most hunters are indifferent to moose, however, and will not shoot one except under the most extreme circumstances. The reasons given for this are various. Some say that moose does not taste that good (although those who are willing to hunt it say that they like the taste). Some say that the time when moose can be harvested from Kaktovik, Mid-October through December, is a time when they are not in prime condition. It is also the primary hunting period for sheep and a period when caribou are also usually readily available. Both sheep and caribou are much preferred to moose. Hunters also say, in what to a non-hunter appears to be a **paradox**, that moose are too big. It simply takes too long to skin and process a moose, and a moose maybe too heavy a load for some snow machine-hauled sleds (especially if the terrain is somewhat rough). Informants estimate the processing time for a moose as two to three hours, and say that it is really too much work for one hunter to do alone. If the meat has to be carried any distance to the snow machine this is even more true. They compare this to the estimated twenty minutes that they say it takes to process a caribou, which is easily dealt with by a single hunter. Sheep are said to very similar to caribou in this regard. It is interesting to compare this to **Nuiqsut**, where moose is a preferred species. In **Nuiqsut**, moose are hunted in August from boats, since the rivers are deeper in the **Nuiqsut** area. Usually there are at least two hunters per boat, so the processing chores can be shared. This is a sharp contrast to **Kaktovik**, where the harvest must be accomplished with snow machines and sleds, and where when hunters go out as a group they still do not actually hunt together for the most part (although they cooperate on processing the harvest and often divide the meat equally). Harvesting moose from Kaktovik may well be more work, putting more wear on both hunters and machines, than does harvesting other species.

Hunters have no difficulty pointing out where moose can be found, as moose prefer to stay near the rivers that Kaktovik hunters use as their main transportation routes. Informants seemed to point out only a limited number of these areas as potential harvest areas, perhaps because these are the actual areas where the few moose actually harvested are taken from. KA-827 (**Sadlerochit** River) and KA-831 (Karen Creek) are both within the larger winter caribou harvest area. K-813 is along the Canning River and is anchored by what one informant called a moose hunting base camp. Other informants reported using this camp as a base camp for hunting furbearers and it is in a logical location to support the sorts of trips Kaktovik hunters report they typically take in pursuit of furbearers. It thus appears that the major moose hunting areas are also areas that are used for other, more **primary**,

subsistence activities, and that the harvest of a moose is in most instances not the focus of many subsistence trips.

C. Fish

The information we collected on fishing in **Kaktovik** agrees for the most part with the results of previous studies (Wentworth 1979, Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, Craig 1987, Pedersen 1989a). Fishing can take place year-round, but summer fishing with gill nets (of various mesh size) is the most productive of the year and most of the fishing effort is directed to this activity. Jigging is done through a **hole** chopped in the ice, generally with an unbaited lure on the end of a stout line. Winter/spring ice fishing at inland sites is combined with sheep and caribou hunting, especially if family units camp out for any period of time for these activities. The sites and areas we have mapped correspond remarkably with those reported in Craig 1987 and Pedersen 1989a, demonstrating that this activity has been **well** documented. We collected no information on the size of the catch other than in relative seasonal terms, so that there can be comparison with previous work in this regard.

Jigging

Only a few sites were identified as ice fishing locations, and most of these few sites were identified consistently by **all** informants. These common sites are **all** located on **the Hulahula River** and serve as either stopover **places** or base camps for multiple subsistence harvest activities. First Fish **Hole** (K-12) is in the foothills rather than the mountains, and is used mainly for fish and caribou, and as a camping place while on the way further up **the** river. Second Fish Hole (K-13) is perhaps the most used base camp site in the **Kaktovik** land use area. Access **to** sites further up the river is often hindered by **lack** of snow cover or overflows on the river. Third Fish **Hole** (K-14) is the furthest of **the** most commonly used fishing locations and is at **the** margins of the identified caribou hunting area. **Paqta** (K-60, "Fourth Fish **Hole**") is a good fishing location because of the creeks entering the river at this site, but access is often difficult and family groups tend to stop at one of the base camp locations nearer the village. **Kangich** (K-15) is the furthest base camp on the **Hulahula** from **Kaktovik** and is **still** more difficult to reach. No informant mentioned fishing here, with sheep being the resource sought from this site. Another commonly mentioned "site" was the Lake **Schrader/Lake Peters** region. Informants say that the entirety of these lakes are good for fishing, that several Native allotments are located on the lakes, and that caribou and sheep hunting is very productive in this area. It is thus likely that family units camp in this area as well. Informants say that these lakes would be productive for summer fishing as well if they were accessible, **but** they are not (except by plane, which is too expensive).

Two areas **on** the Canning River were also identified as ice fishing locations, **KA-818** and **KA-819**. The frequency of use of these sites was not **reported**, but such use seems to be in

conjunction with the infrequent trips for moose to the **area**, and the somewhat more frequent pursuit of furbearers. The latter is especially true of spouses and families accompany the hunters, since they usually do not participate in the wide-ranging travel necessary to find and harvest the furbearers once the area to be hunted is reached. They would stay in or near camp, fishing or hunting small mammals. These areas were certainly used more for fishing in the past than they have been recently. One informant also located an area on the **Aichilik River (KA-837)** where he reported his parents spent some winters. He says that few people from **Kaktovik** use this area much any more, but that the fish are still there. He or his family may fish here on occasion since he is one of the few hunters who uses this area to hunt sheep, and the two activities are easily combined. He does not take trips to this area as frequently as other hunters will go to the mountains up the **Hulahula**, however, and when people say that they are “going to the mountains” it is understood that they are going up the **Hulahula**. These reports agree pretty much with Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:66-68 (although perhaps with a somewhat different emphasis).

Summer Net Fishing

Summer net fishing is clearly the most productive fishing activity engaged in by Kaktovik people, and a good deal of effort is devoted to it. There are several area very close to the village where nets are **regularly** set (K-17, K-18, K-24, and K-25). People may camp at these sites or commute from the village to check the nets. There are other areas farther from the village where people establish fish camps and will stay for a while. To the west is the Canning River delta (K-1), **Kanginniivik** (K-3), several areas along Camden Bay (K-5, K-6, and K-59), and the mouth of the **Okpilik** and **Hulahula** Rivers (K-16). To the east is the mouth of the Jago Rive (**KA-807**), an area to the west centered on Griffin Point (Brewers’ fish camp, K-27), the mouth of the **Aichilik River** (K-33), and the mouth of the Kongakut River (K-34). In addition, people will take nets with them whenever they take boat trips and if they will be in an area for some time (camping, hunting for caribou or birds) they **will** set the net in a likely place. That way, even if they fail to shoot any game they are likely to at least catch some **fish** for little additional effort. Demarcation Bay is said to be a productive location which is used in this way on trips to and from Canada. Most other locations along the coast can **also** be used in this way, especially to the west of Barter Island where people tend to boat more than to the east (except for trips to Canada), **Again**, this for the most part confirms the information in Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:64-65, although they report that the Jago has no fish in it, except for some smelt at its mouth, and that it is so shallow there that catching them is difficult. Pedersen 1989a and village informants would seem to indicate that at least some fish are caught in this area.

One informant also pointed out an inland area on the **Kongakut River (KA-838)** where he reports good summer fishing. The **frequency** of such use is not clear, since access would be difficult. This may be a site used more in the past than presently.

D. Birds (Geese and Ducks)

As in **Nuiqsut**, when waterfowl are in season they are very abundant and can be hunted in almost any number of locations. In the spring, overland travel has become more **difficult** by the time that birds are available, and most people prefer to stay relatively close to Barter Island. This is especially important for the trip back to **the** village, since if breakup occurs while people are out at camp **it** can take them many hours of tedious and hard work to make this return journey. This has apparently been one factor in a recent shift away from using "POW-D," an abandoned Distant Early Warning Line (DEW Line) site at Point Collinson -- K-5 and K-6, for the harvest of spring waterfowl. Informants say that many families from **Kaktovik** used to go and camp there for the spring bird **season**, but that, for the last few years they have been using closer locations and making more day trips. The fact that more hunters are involved in wage activity which makes **it** more difficult for them to take time off to go camping for a week or more also is a factor in this shift.

The main sites and areas that were identified for spring birds were, from west to east, **Kanginniivik** (K-3), **Collinson Point** (K-5 and K-6), **Arey Island** (on the lagoon side, K-17), a site on **the** high side of a curve on **the Okpilak River** (K-804), the base of the Manning Point spit (K-806), **Griffin Point** (K-27) and **Pokok Bay** (K-28). Bird hunting is commonly a family activity and may be done in conjunction with other activities. Spring is the peak time for the harvest of waterfowl, although some hunting will continue through the summer and there is another, smaller, peak in the **fall** (August). The main sites mentioned for the **fall** harvest of birds were **Griffin Point** and **Pokok Bay** (and **Jacobson** and **Wentworth 1982:58-59** discuss other possible sites).

E. Furbearers (Wolf, Wolverine, Fox)

Information on the number of people operating **traplines** is uncertain. It appears that there is no great demand for fox skins in **Kaktovik**, although if **people** trap it is usually more for fox than for wolf or wolverine. Hunters in **Kaktovik** are experiencing the same sort of time pressures as are hunters in other NSB villages, and checking a **trapline** on a regular basis is a time consuming task. It is likely, therefore, that little trapping occurs in the **Kaktovik area**. It is possible that some trapping occurs, but it is not likely to be a significant activity. Not **all** active **Kaktovik** hunters were contacted, but those who were agreed that trapping is no longer economical except perhaps for people in **Anaktuvuk Pass**, and that trapping as an activity in **Kaktovik** has decreased with time.

Hunters still avidly pursue wolf and wolverine, however, by searching extensive areas for them and shooting them. This is the same pattern as is exhibited in **Nuiqsut** and seems to be a combination of a lack of time to check a **trapline** as regularly as the hunter **would** desire and an unwillingness to let a "strong" **animal** such as a wolf or wolverine linger and suffer in an unchecked trap. Shooting such an **animal** is a quicker and kinder death, and the activity of hunting in such a **manner** is more active and enjoyable than the more **passive**

operation of a trapline. Hunting furbearers can be more extemporaneous than trapping and does not require as large a block of time or as rigid a schedule as does trapping. The two activities require quite different skills, as a trapper must know how to disguise traps and works a relatively small **area**, while a hunter has to know how to best search a wide expanse of territory. A trapper has to think about how to best entice the animal into his trap, or how to place the trap so that the animal will encounter it. The hunter has to actively try and predict where the animal is now. Both need to understand the behavior of the animal they are seeking, but **operationalize** it in a different way.

The primary areas for the harvest of furbearers are in the foothills and valleys near the mountains. The most defined such area lies between the **Sadlerochit** and **Shublik** Mountains (**KA-820**), while a less-defined area is west of the Canning and north of the mountains (K-812) and extends west at least to the Sagavanirktok River (**KA-811**). Hunters say that there are sheep in the **Sadlerochit** Mountains, but that they do not hunt them in this area as yet. One informant also said that he hunted furbearers east of Barter Island from a base camp located on the upper **Aichilak** River (K-836). He did not further define this **area**, but it is likely that the foothills and lower lands are more accessible and productive than the mountains to the south. He **hunts** this area in March and April, but does not bother shooting any of the sheep in the area as they are not in prime condition in the spring. Hunters who want to harvest furbearers also tend to ignore caribou as targets of opportunity. For the most part, Kaktovik hunters only plan a trip for furbearers after they have laid in a reasonable store of meat. Once this is done, they can afford the relative luxury of hunting for fur. This involves extensive travel, often at high speed. Harvesting and transporting large amounts of meat would defeat the central purpose of the hunt, especially as the best territory to hunt is relatively distant **from Kaktovik**.

Few base camps were identified for **furbearer** hunting activities, so it appears that most such camps are more transitory and ad hoc than for other types of hunting. Given the nature of the hunt, and the dispersed characteristic of **the** quarry, this is understandable. **K-813** is a base camp which is located in a key place in relation to the territory searched by **Kaktovik** hunters for furbearers. K-812 is an old oil exploration site that hunters are interested in on the chance that there are some drums of gas cached there that they could use. Thus it appears that Kaktovik hunters use old oil exploration sites in their subsistence activities in much the same way as do **Nuiqsut** hunters. They are good **temporary** camping locations, especially when you are traveling fast and hard. The characteristics of K-836 that make it good as a base camp for furbearers are not known at this time.

As for **Nuiqsut**, the best time for hunting furbearers is reported to be March and April. Some hunters may go out in the fall or winter, but usually conditions are poor at that time and people are more concerned with meat than with fur.

F. Seals and Walrus

Few informants were at all specific about seal. This seems to have been for a number of reasons. Far fewer seals are harvested than in the past, most of this harvest occurs in the summer when seals are plentiful all along the coast as long as there is ice, and the harvest is made relatively close to the village. Jacobson and Wentworth (1982:54) define the most intensively **used** sealing area as Pokok Lagoon in the east **to Collison Point** in the west. This is once again the more-or-less standard limits of the Canning River in the west (oil development) and Griffin **Point/Pokok Lagoon** in the east (environmental characteristics) that have tended to define the subsistence range for most species so far discussed. In essence, **Kaktovik** hunters can take seals in many places, and as logical people most commonly take them close to the village. If they encounter them further away, while doing something **else**, and want a seal, they will harvest it there. As stated **by** Jacobson and Wentworth, ringed seal are by far the most common seal in the **area**, although bearded seal is preferred. Bearded seal are also larger, but it is not **known** which is taken more often or contributes more to the diet. Seal oil is still a very important condiment and is probably the most important current use of seal (although the meat is eaten as well).

The one exception to the above paragraph are spotted seal, which are harvested with the least frequency and are not common in the area. Informants reported that hunters had to travel to the **Kongakut** River area (K-834) or Demarcation Bay (K-36) to harvest these animals, which are desired mainly for their **pelts**. Jacobson and Wentworth report that the area from the **Okpilak** and **Hulahula** River **mouths** (K-16) west to Anderson Point (K-7) **is** also good for spotted seal, but this was not verified by informants for this research.

Walrus are rarely seen near **Kaktovik** and are not harvested on any regular basis.

G. Whaling

Whaling has most recently been resumed in **Kaktovik** in 1964, as was discussed above. That historical treatment **will** not be repeated here. Rather, a **simple** description of present whaling practices in **Kaktovik** will be presented.

Kaktovik only whales in the fall, with the season starting no sooner than late August and ending in September or October. There are at least ten crews in **Kaktovik**, so that even with a minimum of four or five men to a crew it can be seen that most adult men are involved with whaling. Most other people in the village are involved in some support or processing capability. Whaling is **truly** a community-wide activity.

Whaling crews use the village as their home base, leaving **from** the village and returning to it every day. As described by one informant, a crew leaves **Kaktovik**, cruises in the search for whales a bit perhaps, and then ties up to an ice berg. Eventually a number of boats will congregate and the **crews** will set out their provisions, eat, and **socialize** while a few of their

number watch for whales. When whales are spotted, the boats are arranged to intercept them in such a way that at least one should have a good shot. There is some competition to be the first to strike a whale, as this increases the prestige of that captain and his crew, but the process as described is mainly cooperative. There are times when boats are cruising the water and searching for whales, and coordination between boats may be more difficult at these times. Once a whale is **struck**, however, all crews in the area go to help procure the whale, haul it back to **Kaktovik**, and process it.

The “core” whaling area for **Kaktovik (KA-801)** is from the **Okpilak** and **Hulahula** Rivers in the west to what is labeled Tapkaurak Point on the USGS base map in the east. The area extends out as far as twenty miles from the coast, although most of the time crews will stay within twelve miles or so. Nearly all whales harvested since 1964 have been struck within this “core” area and there is an explicit effort made to restrict this range. Towing a whale is hard work and relatively slow, especially if there is a wind or rough seas to contend with. The farther away from **Kaktovik** a whale is killed, the longer the tow will be, and the greater the chance there is that at least part of the meat will spoil. The extreme limits of the **Kaktovik** whaling limit, the middle of Camden Bay in the west (**KA-802**) and just north of the Kogotpak River in the east (**KA-841**), are as far as Kaktovik whalers can conceive of trying to tow a whale back to **Kaktovik**. As previously stated, most whales are taken within the “core” area, and most of these in relatively close proximity to the village.

Crews could function with as few as three people in the boat, but most crews have four or five. Not **all** days are equally good for whaling, and there are periods when crews do not go out because of wind and waves. Because of the quota **system**, the season is over once the allocated number of strikes are used. **Kaktovik** currently has a quota of two, but is often in a position to request additional strikes since it is common for spring whaling communities not to be able to use their entire quota. It would be very unusual for Kaktovik to ever have more than four strikes, however, since processing each whale places a great, even if welcome, burden on the community.

Kaktovik has what is essentially an **intercommunity** agreement with **Anaktuvuk** Pass under which Kaktovik **muktuk** and whale meat is sent to **Anaktuvuk** Pass and caribou is sent from **Anaktuvuk** Pass to Kaktovik. This is not trade in the strict sense, as in years when **Kaktovik** does not harvest a whale they still receive caribou from **Anaktuvuk** Pass, and may indeed receive more than in years during which they do harvest a whale since the nutritional need is then greater. Most of the food thus exchanged is redistributed at public functions and feasts, primarily at major holidays such as **Thanksgiving**, Christmas, Easter, and the Fourth of July.

H. Polar Bear

In 1980, more than twenty polar bears were harvested by Kaktovik hunters. Since **then**, from two to about ten have been taken a year. For the most part, **Kaktovik** hunters do not

seek out polar bears to hunt, but merely shoot those which come too near the village and pose a hazard. These bears are usually attracted to the whale butchering site near the village, and their numbers vary from year-to-year depending on the village's success in whaling and the general hunger of the bear population. This is the general explanation for why the recent harvest of polar bears has been significantly less than in 1980, when conditions were such that many bears were around the village. The large number of bears taken that year **also** prompted a concern in the village that perhaps too many were taken that year, so that at present people generally try to chase bears away before resorting to shooting them (**Pedersen et al. 1985:100**). This is also reinforced by the cooperative agreement between the NSB and the **Inuvialuit** Game Council (Canada) to establish a voluntary quota on the harvest of polar bears in the **Beaufort Sea** (**Inuvialuit Game Council and North Slope Borough Fish and Game Management Committee 1988**). **Kaktovik** hunters may **occasionally encounter** a polar bear away **from** the village, but very seldom bother such an animal.

I. Brown Bear

No informant mentioned hunting for brown bear or pointed **out** areas where there were more brown bears than other area. They say that most of the time they do not bother brown bears. The occasional brown bear that may be taken is shot on an opportunistic basis and is not the object of a focused hunt.

J. Muskoxen

Musk ox were reintroduced into the **Kaktovik** area by the State of Alaska Department of Fish and Game, with assistance from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and the residents of **Kaktovik**, in 1969. The species had been indigenous to the region but had been hunted to **local** extinction during the **last** half of **the** 1800s. This has been attributed mostly to **non-Inupiat** hunters. At the time of the reintroduction, the local **Inupiat** had been told that hunting of muskoxen would be allowed once the herd had established itself and such a harvest was biologically justifiable (**Pedersen 1989b**).

No hunting of the transplanted musk ox was allowed until 1983, when a permit hunt was initiated with essentially no participation of the local **Kaktovik** population in the process. There was a fee of \$500 and the drawing was held in Fairbanks, and no **Kaktovik** resident ever applied for a permit. In 1986 the fee was reduced to \$25 and five permits were issued in **Kaktovik** on a first-come, first-serve basis. **In** 1988 the number of permits was raised to **ten**, with five issued in **Kaktovik** and five in Fairbanks. **Local** participation increased for 1986-1988, but for the 1988-89 season was minimal as sports hunters flew to **Kaktovik** to stand in line and essentially received all the permits. Local hunters thought the necessity to stand in line to obtain a permit unnecessary and demeaning (**Pedersen 1989b**). This raised a storm of protest in Kaktovik, and the permit regulations have again been modified

so that seven are reserved for sports hunters (allocated by a draw in Fairbanks) and seven are allocated to local Kaktovik subsistence hunters. The method of allocation in Kaktovik is to be worked out by the local Kaktovik residents themselves (Galginaitis 1990 field notes).

In addition to the problem that musk ox were introduced to serve as another potential resource, and then so regulated that local hunters essentially could not utilize it, there are other aspects to the situation. **Kaktovik** hunters in general feel that the regulation of subsistence hunting is inappropriate. They maintain that **Inupiat** have always hunted what they needed, but have never taken too many of any animal. The idea of **regulation**, or limiting the level of effort or take, is alien and **fairly** repugnant to Kaktovik residents. In the case of bowhead whales they have accepted the political necessity of regulation. For musk **ox**, as for sheep and caribou, they think such regulation is overly restrictive (it should also be noted that bowhead whale are only seasonally available while musk **ox**, sheep, and caribou are all potentially available year-round).

Also, at least some local Kaktovik residents maintain that musk ox compete with caribou for food. They note that they have been seen using the same areas, but that once musk ox are noted to be using an area that there have been many fewer (or no) caribou in those areas. The last several summers have been very poor for the harvest of caribou, as the herds have for some reason spent only very short periods of time on the coast. Biologists maintain that this is due to the natural variation in caribou migratory patterns and is not due to the presence of musk ox. Local people point out that usually dependable winter caribou harvest sites are also relatively devoid of musk **ox**, and that the only place Kaktovik hunters can dependably find caribou is in the mountains in the winter.

Many of the areas that informants indicated as good for hunting **muskoxen**, or more likely, where **muskoxen** could likely be found (since they have not been allowed to hunt them to any great extent) are areas that have historically been productive caribou harvest locations. In the east this includes such areas as **Imaignauraq** (Humphrey Point near Pokok **Lagoon**, K-29) and BAR-A (K-842). There is a study of the use of winter habitat by muskoxen in this eastern region underway at present, but the principal researcher says that the main body of **muskoxen** is actually to the west. The **Inupiat** residents of Kaktovik concur in this, saying that there are several resident herds in this area. One tends to use the Camden Bay -- **Katakturuk** River area (K-4), whereas another moves between Camden Bay and the Sadlerochit River (**KA-823a**, **KA-823b**, **KA-824**). Others can be found on the **Hulahula** River (K-12). Muskoxen are also found to the west of Camden Bay near the mouth of the Canning River (**KA-821** -- it is not clear whether informants consider this a separate residential herd or not). As discussed in the caribou **section**, all are areas where it is expected that caribou will normally be abundant and available in the summer. For whatever reasons, this has not been true the past several years and many informants think that the **muskoxen** are principally to blame.

Most muskoxen have been harvested by **non-Inupiat** hunters guided by **Inupiat**. Camden Bay and the Sadlerochit River seem to be the harvest areas of choice. The last **muskox**

taken by a Kaktovik resident (with a permit) was on **Kaviak Creek**, between Camp Creek and Dodo **Creek**, inside the mountains. The preferred time to hunt **muskoxen** is in March and April. Travel is still good, days are relatively long, and the weather can be expected to be fairly good.

K Sheep

Sheep are not the major subsistence resource for Kaktovik and everyone recognizes that fact. Caribou is the major terrestrial resource harvested, whales contribute a great deal to the village diet (both directly and through exchange), and fish may also contribute more than sheep to the overall village economy (information on the amount of fish caught and consumed in **Kaktovik** is minimal at best). Still, sheep are the subsistence resource which is used to **identify Kaktovik**, as it is the resource that most differentiates them from other NSB villages. **Anaktuvuk** Pass is the only other NSB village to hunt sheep. The school% athletic teams are nicknamed the Rams, and the most popular ball cap (often worn in winter as well as in more temperate weather) is a DEW-Line hat with a ram superimposed over the DEW-Line's domed radar tower. Sheep are the most salient subsistence resource to hunters, and the resource most seem to prefer hunting. With the recent difficulties finding summer caribou, the controversies surrounding the hunting of **muskoxen**, and the issues of on-shore and off-shore oil exploration and development, this salience may not be as obvious since sheep may be the most stable and least threatened of the subsistence resources Kaktovik residents use, and are thus not the subject of much community discussion. Still, when hunters discuss subsistence, at least with this researcher, they seemed to most naturally gravitate to talking about sheep.

Kaktovik **Inupiat** hunt sheep using snow machines for **transportation**, so their harvest period is usually late October through November and March through **April**. They much prefer the condition of the animals in the **fall**, when they have more fat. They also tend to be less "spooky" at this time, as they are approaching the rutting season (but this also depends on how many hunters have been using the **area**, and how recently). On the other hand, **access** is often more difficult in the fall than in the spring, days are shorter, and the weather is often worse. The result is that sheep are harvested by **Inupiat** in both the **fall** and the spring. While overall conditions in the fall may not be as good as in the spring, the success rate is generally higher and more effort is put into hunting sheep in the fall than in the spring. Sport hunters do not directly compete with local hunters for sheep, since most sport hunters hunt them in August and September. This time frame requires that they be flown into and out of the mountains and most of them arrange this support with guides operating out of Fairbanks. There are also guide services operated out of Barrow **and** some non-Native communities, but detailed information is lacking. In any event, there are no such support services in **Kaktovik** (other than for a hotel run by non-locals). **Kaktovik** receives little economic benefit from sports hunters who harvest sheep, and sometimes is completely unaware of them.

There are three main sheep areas, which are separated by an expanse of lower land where sheep may also sometimes be found but which is generally less productive for sheep and more productive for caribou. These will be discussed in turn. We will then discuss four other areas reported to be used for sheep hunting that appear to be used much less frequently.

The **Hulahula River system (KA-831)** is the area most often mentioned for sheep. **Kangich (K-15)** is characterized as the main sheep base camp, but this appears to be more of an ideal norm than a reflection of actual behavior. There are many sheep around **Kangich**, and sheep hunting is the only subsistence activity conducted in that area. Thus **Kangich** is the **proto-typical** sheep base camp. Access to **Kangich** is often difficult, however, especially in the fall when snow cover may be a problem and there are overflows on the river at and beyond Second Fish Hole (K-13). **Paqta (K-60)** shares nearly all of the characteristics of **Kangich**, although it is possible to fish there and harvest an occasional caribou. Access is difficult in the fall. Third Fish Hole is used fairly often as a sheep hunting base camp. A wide range of resources is available from this site and access, while sometime restricted, is better than for **Paqta** and **Kangich**. This site may also be used if there are too many people at Second Fish Hole for a party to feel comfortable there or for a successful harvest to be in doubt. For the most part, **Kaktovik** hunters remark that they travel no farther than they have to in order to harvest what they are after. This explains why Second Fish Hole (K-13) and an unnamed camp (K-816) just west of Second Fish Hole are behaviorally the sites most often used as base camps for sheep hunting (as well as for other harvest activities conducted in the mountains). Access to these sites is normally very regular in the fall and the animals are normally available in the immediate area. Second Fish Hole is also a hub or node on the trail network used by **Kaktovik** hunters. One of the main trails to the **furbearer** hunting area starts at Second Fish Hole, as does a “loop” trail which enables a hunter to search some very good sheep territory and end up back on the **Hulahula** south of Second Fish Hole, from where he can usually return to Second Fish Hole on the relatively smooth river or search the eastern bank of the river using one of the few areas where access to this side of the river is relatively easy. Further north and south it is too steep for this to be possible.

The upper part of **Itkilyariak Creek** and the region north of the **Sadlerochit River (KA-825)** is the second area commonly used for the harvest of sheep. **Suplu's Camp (K-833)** is sometimes used as a base camp for hunting in this area (as well as the area to the south of it). Sheep are also known to be numerous in the **Sadlerochit Mountains** to the west of this area (**KA-845**), but **Kaktovik** hunters have not yet hunted this area.

The third common sheep area is composed of the creeks flowing into Lake Peters and the area just north of Lake Schrader (**KA-828**). Many different subsistence resources are available in this area, much like around Second Fish Hole. The trail to this area starts at Second Fish Hole and this area is accessible even if there are overflows on the **Hulahula River**.

The four less commonly used areas are all more distant from **Kaktovik** and are generally sheep-only territories (one or possibly two have associated winter **fishing**). Three of these areas are to the east of Kaktovik and are associated **mainly** with one kin group in **Kaktovik**, members of which are said to use the area more than other people. Members of this kin group have Native allotments on the Jago and **Okpilak** Rivers near two of these identifies sheep areas (**KA-835** and **KA-830**). The third area is on the **Aichilik** and is near a camp (K-836) identified with the harvest of forbearers **by** an informant who **is** not a member of the kin group said to most often use this area. The fourth area is on the Canning River, to the west of **Kaktovik**, and was not identified as a harvest area by any informant. The subsistence maps produced by the North Slope Borough include this area. Informants seemed to say that sheep were known to be in this **area**, but that it was too far for them to travel to harvest them. Similarly, informants say that there are sheep on the **Kongakut** River but that the people who used to hunt this area have passed on and that younger hunters never **learned this** territory and prefer to hunt closer **to** the village.

4. Base Camps and Hunting Strategies

A number of different base camps have been identified in the species-specific discussions above. This section **will** try to examine the characteristics of these base camps to describe an overall pattern of **Kaktovik** subsistence activity.

Most informants will say that **all land** mammals in which they have an interest (and even those they do not) are found in basically the same area. An examination of the maps, and especially Mount **Michelson**, will show **this** to be true in a general sense, but not in a particular one. Sheep tend to be harvested most consistently at higher elevations than caribou, and caribou tend to be found in more open **terrain**, away from the willows in the river courses, than do moose. Muskoxen can not really be typified from the information available from **Kaktovik** informants. Forbearers **are found** near the mountains, **but** in lower lands adjacent to them rather than within **them**, and hunters tend to **travel** to areas not otherwise used to harvest them (**perhaps** this reflects the need to search a large area that has not been hunted a great deal, as forbearers are thinly dispersed and sensitive to the presence of humans).

As one further examines the maps it appears that a fairly clear hierarchy of subsistence resources can be developed, in tem of the “amount of effort hunters are willing to expend to harvest any given resource. **Using** distance traveled as a measure of effort, it certainly appears that hunters are willing to travel furthest to harvest forbearers and sheep. Hunters are willing to travel a fair distance to harvest caribou, but not so far as they will go for sheep (**muskoxen** and perhaps moose fit in here as well). Hunters prefer to go only a short distance for birds and fish (unless these activities can be combined with hunting a species higher in the hierarchy). All of these generalizations, deduced from the patterns on the map, also correspond to what informants **report** about how far they travel for certain game and the **level** of effort they expend. There are other qualifications to be made, of course.

Most informants say that they do not hunt furbearers unless they have already harvested enough meat. In the summer, when hunters can use boats, they will travel further distances (but probably expend less effort) to harvest caribou. If game is scarce, a great deal of effort will be spent on harvesting whatever is available, no matter where it is on the above “hierarchy.” Nonetheless, the above general statements seem to hold **true** for the majority of the village hunters a majority of the time. For the discussion below, we will exclude summer camps, which tend to be multi-species harvest sites in any event (**caribou**, fish, birds).

Certain base camps are used only when a hunter wishes to harvest the particular resource available in the area of that base camp. There are two “clusters” or types of such camps. The first is made up of those base camps located farthest from **Kaktovik**. All of the furbearer base camps fit in this category (K-812, K-813, and K-836). The one camp mentioned in connection with ptarmigan hunting may also fit here (K-839). More significantly, the two sheep base camps on the **Hulahula** which are farthest from **Kaktovik**, and the unspecified camps used when hunting in the three sheep areas east of the **Hulahula** River, are used only when the hunter desires to specifically harvest sheep. They are used less often than other camps because they are more difficult to get to and the diversity of available resources is less. They are used at times, despite these drawbacks, because the chance of successfully harvesting the target species, in this case sheep, is high. It is likely that this chance of successful harvest, once the area is reached, is higher than in the areas around the more commonly used multi-species harvest base camps, although no informant made this sort of statement. Some informants did talk about how the commonly used camp sites on the **Hulahula** were at times fairly crowded and that this could at times lessen the chance of an additional hunter successfully harvesting an animal.

The second group of “single-species harvest base camps” is made up of those which **are** closest to Kaktovik (again, we are addressing inland, not coastal, locations). These camps (K-8, K-12, K-814, K-815, K-833) tend to be surrounded by a hunting area that is somewhat more multi-component than the first group, but not exceedingly so. The main target animal is caribou. First Fish Hole is also clearly a fishing **location**, but most people consider it most important as a camping/resting spot for trips further up the river. It is possible to make the trip to Second Fish Hole in a day, but some people prefer not to (especially the one individual who uses a dog team). Informants say the First Fish Hole is not as protected from the wind as the base camps located within the mountains, so that they prefer not to camp there as long as they do in other spots. Hunters using the other base camps in this group can be looking for moose, **muskoxen**, or sheep, as well as caribou, but their primary orientation will be caribou or muskoxen (if someone in the party has a **muskox** permit).

This leaves a group of three base camps (K-13, K-14, K-816) which are between the above two groups in distance from Kaktovik. These are the camps that informants report they use most frequently. Lines drawn between pairs of these base camps also effectively defines the overlap between the prime sheep hunting area and the prime mountain caribou hunting area. Second Fish Hole (K-13) and Third Fish Hole (K-14) are also very good ice fishing

locations. K-816 is on the “loop” trail from Second Fish Hole which continues to return to the **Hulahula** River south of Second Fish Hole but north of Third Fish Hole, in an area where access to the east side of the **Hulahula** River is possible. There is also a trail from K-816 to the **Schrader** Lake area, which is the main route to this area. Schrader Lake is very good for ice fishing. The **Schrader** Lake area is also very good for caribou and sheep, and there are numerous camping spots around the lake (K-8 17 is where some Native allotment **claims** are located). K-816 is also located in an area with quite a few moose, although Kaktovik hunters seldom take moose.

The reasons that this group of camps is used most often can not be known for **certain**, but it appears that these are sites that are relatively easy to reach, protected from the wind and bad weather, and provide access to a multiplicity of subsistence resources. All are important factors, as one reason informants gave for the use of these sites was that subsistence was not simply an economic activity but was a social one as **well**. These sites are not the only places where a hunter could go to look for sheep or caribou, but they are places where he can **look** for these animals and expect that other hunters will also be in the area. One of the reasons that other hunters will be there is that they can go as a family group and all members will have a productive activity to engage in. As two informants put it when we were looking at the maps together, the men can go out and hunt sheep while their spouses stay at camp and fish (as can children). If sheep are not to be found, caribou will almost certainly be available. Thus, these camps combine a high chance of harvest success with the social aspects of camping together away **from** the village. Summer fish camps also provide this to a degree, **but** the freedom to **travel** is much more restricted in summer. The short periods of peak waterfowl harvest, mainly in the spring, probably combine these factors in much the same way.

The strategy of **Kaktovik** big game hunting is probably also related to this pattern of base camp use, at least in the way it was explained to the researcher. Informants agreed that there were two main ways to hunt, as a group or as an individual. Any one hunter has a preference between the two orientations, but it is a preference rather than a hard-and-fast distinction. Thus, some “group” hunters will at times hunt alone, and some “solitary” hunters will at times hunt as the member of a group. Solitary hunters hunt by themselves as individuals, process and transport what they harvest, and distribute it as they please. Group hunters cooperate in locating the animals they want, place themselves so that at **least** one of them **will** have a good chance at harvesting one or more, process and transport the meat together as much as that makes sense, and in most cases will evenly divide whatever was harvested, no matter who actually harvested it. There maybe hybrid approaches, where a group travels to a harvest area together and then splits up to hunt individually. Depending on the relationships between people in the group they may then divide the harvested game evenly, or according to some other agreed upon formula. In most cases the harvested game is redistributed in the village in any event to Elders and relatives. Group hunters tend to use the three most commonly used base camp sites, which makes sense given the social nature of this **strategy**. “Group hunter” informants also say explicitly that they go hunting not to demonstrate their prowess as a hunter or to increase their prestige or **reputation**, but

to procure meat. They prefer the greater probability of obtaining a share of whatever anyone in the group harvests to the lesser probability of success while hunting alone, but being able to keep all of what is harvested. Those people who hunt as individuals tend to use the harvest areas to the east of the **Hulahula** River (KA-830, KA-835, K-836), which is logically consistent. They avoid the groups who are hunting and use an area where animals are less likely to have recently seen hunters. Informant accounts of the use of base camps K-15 and K-60 were not obtained. The interested reader may well wish to compare this information with Binford's account of late fall sheep hunting in **Anuktuvuk** Pass (Binford 1978:406-416). There may well be sites where a cooperative hunting approach is more productive than an individual one and vice versa, Our research was not oriented to investigate this aspect of hunting behavior.

One informant volunteered the following summary of the question of team hunters and individual hunters. Some people prefer to go out alone and run the risk of getting nothing to have the chance to harvest a great deal that is then theirs alone. Others go out as a group, work together, and share the result equally. He called the second more traditional, and said that the first is an aberration brought about by access to economic resources (cash from wage employment) and reduced family responsibilities. Most of the "group" hunters have families and/or provide for a wide-range of kin relations, while most individual hunters have at most a spouse or parents to provide for. The accuracy of this characterization cannot be gauged, as this was not one of the questions the research was designed to address and we lack adequate systematic information in this regard. It is logically consistent with what is known about the relationship between wage employment, family cycle development, and subsistence activity in Kaktovik and other NSB villages.

Informants also said that there were differences between hunters in the degree to which they relied on snow machines to take them near the animals to be harvested and the degree to which they walked and stalked these animals. **All** hunters agree that they prefer to shoot down at an animal. The question is then if you try to drive your snow machine above where the animals you are seeking are likely to be, or if you stop below this point and climb up on foot.

One factor to be considered is the skill of the hunter in driving a snow machine. The mountains are very steep in most places outside of the river valleys, which is why most people stay within these valleys, Informants say that some hunters know how to take a machine pretty much wherever they want to go, however, and that they will use this knowledge to go where others do not. These individuals are almost by definition solitary hunters. Some individuals with this degree of knowledge may still keep their machine pretty much in the valleys and do a good deal of walking. Their thinking is that the trip up the mountains, with an empty **sled**, is not nearly as difficult as the trip **down**, with a fully loaded sled. Further, once an animal is harvested, most hunters prefer to carry the butchered parts downhill for a longer distance rather than uphill for a shorter one.

5. Kaktovik Subsistence Land Use Areas

As for any village on the North Slope, the precise designation of land use areas for Kaktovik is impossible. For purposes of mapping these boundaries have been taken to be the boundary with Canada to the east, **Tigvariak** Island (essentially the dividing line between the **Beechey** Point and **Flaxman** Island USGS 1:250,000 scale maps) in the west, and the 69 degree line to the south. These **are all** to some extent arbitrary, although the southern boundary is to **all** intents and purposes a reflection of reality. The east and west boundaries are clearly artificial and related to the time frame and purposes of the current research, combined with the pragmatic considerations of what informants were willing to talk about.

For most purposes, the artificiality of the east and west boundaries has no real effect on the research. Most subsistence harvest activity does indeed occur within those boundaries, and indeed, within the more circumscribed area between the Canning River in the west and Pokok Lagoon in the east. There are activities which take **Kaktovik** residents further to the west and to the east, but for normal subsistence activities these boundaries represent behavioral reality fairly well. The Canning River **is** referred to by some informants as “our Berlin wall” because it is difficult to cross and **use** the territory beyond it. This is attributed to the **oil** exploration and development activity that has occurred in this area. The only subsistence activity reported **in** this area is the hunting of furbearers in the southern part of this range. This is consistent, since hunting furbearers is an activity that requires extensive travel, at fairly high speeds, and **a** minimum **of** equipment. Most hunters would still -take a sled, but it **would** be lightly **loaded** for the entire trip since there **would** be no meat to haul back to the village. It is most often the ease or difficulty of **travel** with a loaded sled that determines **the** area to be hunted, and a hunter with only a lightly loaded sled (survival gear, extra gas) can traverse obstacles that a hunter with a heavily loaded sled could not. It is not known why the Canning River is the effective western boating limit as **well**. It may be that this is not as strong a boundary as for snow machine travel, as caribou are on occasion harvested on **Flaxman** or even **Tigvariak** Island. For the most part, however, **Kaktovik** residents do stay east of the Canning.

Similarly, most subsistence activity takes place west of Pokok Lagoon. The reason given for the boating limitation is that there are few safe harbors east of Pokok Lagoon in case of sudden weather changes. The snow machine travel limitation is **less** clear and may **simply** reflect that few active hunters know this area very well and prefer to use the more **well**-known harvest areas. Some informants have remarked that the **Jago** and other rivers to the east are more dangerous than the **Hulahula** because of air pockets in the ice, and they are not as smooth. There is **also** no established trail on the rivers east of the **Hulahula**, while the trail on the **Hulahula** is well marked once a few **people** have used **it**. Some informants also volunteered that the nature of the snow east of the **Aichilik** River made it more dangerous than in the area to the west of the **Aichilik** River, but the researcher did not understand the distinctions **well** enough to report on them accurately.

Kaktovik people do boat east of Pokok **Lagoon**, however, and do harvest subsistence resources in this area. Often this takes place on trips to and from **Canada**, and the sites and areas most often used within the United States are discussed above. What informants were understandably reluctant to discuss in the absence of a guarantee that it would not have any repercussions in terms of international regulatory agreements concerning caribou, migratory birds, and marine mammals, was subsistence activity by Kaktovik residents in Canada. **Kaktovik** residents commonly make summer boat trips to **Aklavik** and **Inuvik**, on the MacKenzie River delta. Because there are so many close kin relationships between the populations (the reason for the trips in the first place, and a secondary result of the trips as well), Kaktovik people know the subsistence resource harvest sites on the Canadian side of the border nearly as well as those on the American side. The frequency with which they harvest resources in Canada is **unknown**, as no informant wished to discuss Canadian harvest sites other than to admit that they were known. From hearing people talk about trips to Canada it was obvious that they did know about such sites and did sometimes harvest resources. **Again**, exactly what these resources were, where they were **taken**, and how often they were taken are questions to which the answers are not known. Similarly, people from **Aklavik** and **Inuvik** travel to Kaktovik by snow machine in the winter, and the extent of their subsistence activity in the United States is not known.

Historical accident also plays a prominent role in the arbitrary appearance of these boundaries. The **Beechey** Point map is an especially good example of this, as the subsistence harvest sites mapped are a mixture of "**Nuiqsut**" and "**Kaktovik**" sites taken from the **TLUI** site lists for those two villages. At **present**, Beechey Point map sites are used almost exclusively by people from **Nuiqsut**, as Kaktovik is too far away. The assignment of individual sites to either the **Nuiqsut** or Kaktovik **TLUI** was done on the basis of where the informant who provided the information lived at the time of the interview or what community the informant identified as the focus of his movements for the time period involved. Since the **TLUI** lists for the most part deal with a time period when the population was dispersed over the land in a very mobile subsistence **pattern**, many people in both Kaktovik and **Nuiqsut** had personal experience with many sites from the Canadian border (and beyond) in the east and Barrow (and beyond) in the west. Sorting these out on the basis if the location of present permanent settlements seems to be a task not worth doing, and would misrepresent the dynamics of the use of these sites in the past as **well**.

6. Recent Trends in Kaktovik Subsistence

Our information is far from complete, but there are still several points that are worth developing here. The first has already been introduced in the **discussion** above. The **Kaktovik** subsistence cycle as presented graphically by Wentworth (1979:99) and Jacobson and Wentworth (1982:29) is a normative ideal and no longer a behavioral reality (if it ever was). It is useful as a reference to the past and as a diagram of when a given sort of subsistence harvest activities are possible, but certainly **does not represent** when such activities actually take place. The formation of modern settlements and the development

of local full-time wage employment may have more significant and long range effects on the subsistence pattern than do the direct **physical/environmental** effects of oil exploration and production (although of course the latter is the ultimate facilitator for the former). In any event, it is obvious that informants are engaging in a wider variety of activities and have a wider range of responsibilities than they did in the past. People travel much more, and further away. Winter subsistence activity is reduced from even the recent past, with many informants typing themselves as “summer hunters.” Hunting trips tend to be shorter than in the past, and less frequent, as they increasingly have to fit into the leave and vacation policy of a wage employer. Most hunters still avoid taking day trips, because of the distances that must be traveled to reach a harvest site, and even weekend trips are said not to be long enough for sheep hunting. Longer trips are increasingly taking on aspects of recreation as they most often have to be scheduled to coincide with annual leave and are often used to hunt “special” species such as sheep or **whale**. Subsistence will always be much more than recreation to the **Inupiat**, as long as they remain **Inupiat**, but informants spontaneously volunteered the information that when they get tense or frustrated, it helps to go out on the land. This clears their head and relaxes **them**, and if they do take an animal provides some meat for their household or the village. Aspects of the hunt other than the actual harvest are becoming increasingly important as cultural identity value markers and for the maintenance of mental health, especially as the time available for subsistence activities becomes less. In fact, it may be possible to hypothesize that as the time available for subsistence activities lessens, the ideological value and salience of subsistence as the center of **Inupiat** cultural identity will increase.

Second, in contrast to **Nuiqsut**, it appears that **Kaktovik** harvest sites and the land use area is relatively stable, or at least has been for the past ten years. While the emphasis of this report may be somewhat different from that of Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, the harvest sites and areas being used, and the land use boundaries described, are basically the same. The continued use of the area east of the **Hulahula River**, and especially east of the **Aichilik River**, would seem to be more one of the transmission of site information and need to use such sites. For the present it appears that **this** knowledge is still present in the village, but that there **is** no perceived need to **travel** the distances involved when subsistence resources are available closer to the village. There may come a time when subsistence resources are no longer available near the village, in which case these more distant areas will assume more everyday importance. **It** is, of course, impossible to assign a probability value to such an eventuality, or to guess how **likely** it is that in such an eventuality the knowledge of harvest locations in these areas will have been maintained. Informants stressed the cyclical nature of the populations and movements of all the animals they hunted, however, and spoke of their entire use **area**, whether currently “used” or not, as part of the same system.

Third, as an embellishment on the second point, it appears that at least some hunters in **Kaktovik** are becoming specialists. This may be related to increasing time pressures in general (more tasks to accomplish and more responsibilities to handle in the same time), or may simply be a continuation of a pattern which has existed for some time but was simply not documented. For example, some hunters say they seldom if ever go out in the winter,

preferring the better conditions in the summer and being more marine oriented anyway. Others will have the same temporal **specialization**, but will justify it by time constraints and say that they prefer to spend the limited time they have available for subsistence when conditions are not as extreme as they are in winter. Their main target species may still be caribou, however, as well as birds, fish, and marine mammals. Some individuals specialize in whaling and, when successful, do little else. A successful whaling captain can often exchange **muktuk** and whale meat for whatever other subsistence food he needs. It is likely that the generalist nature of **Inupiat** subsistence hunters has been overstated in the literature, but until a treatment of this topic is written the question will remain open. Given the extent of adaptation and change since contact it seems exceedingly unlikely that even if aboriginal **Inupiat** were true subsistence generalists that they remained so for long. It is also quite evident from informant accounts that the subsistence activities they engage in changes through the course of their lifetimes. We do not have systematic information on this topic, but this is another question that would be well worth investigation.

Fourth, subsistence is the core of **Inupiaq** cultural identity. This point is developed in general in later sections so that the reader of this document has an interpretive context for the harvest site and area information provided. It is beyond the scope of this project, however, to document how subsistence is the frame for much (perhaps most) of village behavior. It is also more difficult for us to develop this point in Kaktovik than in **Nuiqsut**, because of our greater familiarity with **Nuiqsut**. We will still attempt to provide some brief examples to make this claim clearer.

The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (**ANWR**) encompasses much of the land used by Kaktovik residents for subsistence -- essentially the entire coastal plain. When plans for leasing were being developed, the village of **Kaktovik** filed a lawsuit to prevent any leasing in the area. Although there was no unanimous position (and still is not) on this issue, most **Inupiat** residents seem to be against development unless they are village corporation officials. **Non-Inupiat** residents are split on the issue. In any event, no Kaktovik residents took a position against this lawsuit until it became clear that, with the aid of other interest groups such as Friends of the Earth, the lawsuit might actually block any hope of development within **ANWR**. At that point, those **non-Inupiat** residents with a stake in the future development of **ANWR** (in terms of jobs, providing support services) and corporation officials interested in protecting the economic future of the village corporation through development of its (and the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation's) selected lands, exerted pressure on the City Council to withdraw from its lawsuit. This took place recently and because of the lack of local support the aiding groups could not sustain the case and also withdrew. Most local residents are still apparently opposed to oil development, although village corporation officials maintain that most really hold the view that to maintain the current standard of living and service in the village most people realize that there will have to be continued oil exploration and development. In fact, most people do not seem to hold this view and explicitly take the position that subsistence is far more fundamental to the **Inupiat** identity than is the current level of village services. On the other hand, these same people do not want to do without these services, have no suggestions other than oil

development as to how to supply them in the future, and do not take an active role in trying to prevent oil exploration and development in the area. This is the standard **NSB** political dynamic (see **Galginaitis** et al. 1984 for the **Nuiqsut** case, Impact Assessment 1989 for the Point Lay case, and to some extent the Point Hope case, and Impact Assessment 1990 for summary treatments of all NSB villages).

Another **small** example took place during the period of fieldwork. Informants repeatedly talked about the importance of trips to the mountains as learning experiences, especially for the young, and how they were family excursions which not only taught subsistence skills but social values as well. The school had sponsored such trips in the past, but as is true in most other NSB villages has not done so in the recent past (some informants said not for six or seven years). It was therefore natural that when the Boy Scouts (a relatively new organization to which most school children do belong) were searching for a group activity to sponsor that a spring trip **to** the mountains was suggested. This was immediately perceived as appropriate and the planning process was initiated. It is perhaps immaterial that these plans fell through, because the process demonstrates at least partially the values that subsistence trips to the mountains hold for **Kaktovik** residents. At the same time, the reasons for the plans falling through are also significant as demonstrating some of the pressures that affecting the transmission of subsistence **knowledge**. The school wanted to keep the children in school for the administration of standardized tests, the scores of which are used for planning what is taught as well as for judging the effectiveness of the program and comparing the school to others. The trip **could not be simply** delayed **until** school was over, as by then **travel** to the mountains would **be** problematic. The administration of the tests could **not** be delayed because the school schedule is set the year before. **If** they wanted to, Kaktovik residents **could** request, through their **local** School Advisory Council, that the school schedule be amended in future years to allow for a spring trip to the mountains. This may be difficult to achieve, as teachers have preferred as early an end to the school year as possible (as have parents and students).

Subsistence Site **Usufruct**

One of the major concerns of this research was the investigation of who used any given subsistence site and how such use was regulated. This is a fundamental question in any society and for any culture, but especially so for one such as the **Inupiaq** where sharing is given such a central place in the value system. The measurement in the change of **usufruct** of subsistence sites, if it were possible, may well be one of the most accurate assessments of **Inupiaq** cultural change. In **Kaktovik**, as in **Nuiqsut**, it is reported that anyone can hunt anywhere and in most cases can use any” **cabin**, since most are left open with the understanding that anything used will be replaced.

Not all subsistence sites share all of the same characteristics, with the most salient differences apparently being related to the resource being harvested. We shall thus start our discussion of subsistence site **usufruct** by examining sites on a species-by-species basis.

1. Species-Specific Site Usufruct Characteristics

We will briefly discuss the harvest site characteristics of the subsistence resources taken by **Kaktovik** hunters in this section. The order will be the same as in our earlier discussion of the yearly subsistence round in present-day **Kaktovik**. We have included all species considered in that **section**, even though some are not harvested on any regular **basis**.

A. *Caribou*

Caribou, as described by **Kaktovik** informants, exhibit an unusual constellation of characteristics. Caribou are normally expected to be available, pretty much throughout the year, if a hunter is willing to expend the effort required to **find** them. Summer caribou range all along the coast, as this **is** when the herds migrate to the coastal **plain**. Summer is historically the period when the most caribou are harvested. Informants report that in some years, perhaps two in **ten**, caribou will be exceedingly abundant and will migrate very close to the village. Yet, for the past few years, informants report that summer caribou have been scarce. They have migrated to the coast, but have left much sooner than they normally do. They also seem to be calving somewhat farther north than they have in previous times. This is, in essence, a description of unpredictable variation. The winter distribution of caribou is said to be somewhat more predictable. Most caribou migrate south but some stay in isolated locations on the coast or in the lowlands between the **Hulahula** River and the Sadlerochit Mountains. There are fewer of **them**, but they are concentrated in a limited number of locations. Coastal harvest locations have also been unproductive in the winter the past several years, but the mountain harvest area has been reliably productive.

The locational characteristics of summer and winter caribou harvest areas differ considerably, but their use characteristics are very similar. Essentially there are **no** use restrictions on these harvest areas. In the summer there are a multitude of possible harvest sites to choose from and even in a competitive situation one would expect little in the way of restrictions. There are usually more than enough caribou available, in the normal state of affairs, so that hunters can take day trips wherever they wish without interfering with other hunters. When summer camping trips are **taken**, it is either out of choice (and often with a group of friends or relative) or because there are no caribou close by (and it is **likely** that this will also be a **group** hunt or up to four people). In the first case the situation is clearly cooperative, while in the second the meat harvested would almost certainly be shared widely in the village even if obtained by a solitary hunter. In winter, because there **are** fewer caribou and they are found in a more restricted **area**, most hunters use essentially the same harvest area and base camps. Most of these base camps are adjacent **to** or near Native allotment claims. Because Native allotment **claims** must be made within the federal system of law, the potential exists for the **people** applying for these Native allotments to make proprietary claims on the base camp sites most frequently used **by** all **Kaktovik** hunters. In fact, there are no indications **that Kaktovik residents** with Native Allotment

claims will ever exert their proprietary rights, or that the idea of proprietary or private ownership of **land** outside of the village will ever be considered. A brief discussion of Native allotments reviewing this and a few of their other aspects will be found below.

In the summer, most hunters have preferred areas to hunt even though for the most part caribou can be found anywhere along the coast. There are no social barriers to access to caribou wherever they may be found on the coast (shallow water does provide such restrictions in places). Summer caribou hunts can be day trips, but **are** just as likely to be camping trips of a week or more. In winter, the coastal hunting areas are similarly open to all, but most trips to these harvest areas are day trips (coastal harvest areas more than a day's round trip travel away tend not to **be** used in the winter). Winter caribou trips to the mountains, on the other hand, are always camping trips of three days to several weeks (because of the distance involved and the greater protection from wind and adverse weather than on the coast). The use of this area is also unrestricted. Most people use the same base camps and appreciate the social nature of camping and hunting together. This is one aspect of the subsistence value system that is not often developed in formal reports on subsistence activity. Sharing in the activity of harvesting resources, and socialization (value learning) through such participation, are as important as the sharing demonstrated by the distribution of whatever is harvested. The use of a limited number of base camp sites used in common and used by **all**, is certainly an important indicator that this aspect of the subsistence social system is still operating. Free access to coastal caribou is also an indicator. While the different nature **of** the seasonal harvest sites used is a reflection of the more **limited** number of caribou available in the winter and the fewer **number** of good harvest sites for taking them, **the value** orientation underlying the behavior is the same.

There is one other group of winter caribou harvest sites located along the river courses to the east of the **Hulahula**. Relatively few people use these areas since they are farther from the village, somewhat harder to get to than the **Hulahula** sites, and have essentially the same resources. Those people who do use these sites tend to be from one kin group whose members have Native allotments in the area, and who tend **to** hunt alone or in small groups. 'These **people** do not **use** these areas to the exclusion of the **Hulahula** River use area. In fact, they may use the **Hulahula** sites more often than they use the areas to the east (information was not systematically collected on this), but the group who uses the areas east of the **Hulahula** at all is small. Informants **from** this group commented on how the **Hulahula** sites sometimes became crowded and the hunting area overtaxed by too many **people** trying to use them at the same time. They were not implying that the area was ever overhunted, because sufficient animals seem to be always available. Rather, they were saying that at times there is not enough separation between hunters in the **Hulahula** use area. Some of these **informants** also commented on the littering that they had noticed at the base camp sites on **the Hulahula** River, which they considered shameful.

Why **only** this **small** number of hunters, most of them related to each other, use these areas to the east of the **Hulahula** River and most other hunters do not is not clear at present. The existence of the Native allotments tied to this kin group certainly influences this

behavior, but Native allotments are not used to exert proprietary claims in other contexts and this same kin group also has Native allotments on the **Hulahula** River. This small group of hunters certainly knows the area east of the **Hulahula** River better than the **Kaktovik** hunter population at large, but whether this is a cause or an effect of their use of the area can not be determined. Any explanation based on a difference in “hunting strategy” must remain speculative, since the basis in fact for such a difference is only suggestive at best. It is certainly true that the trail to the **Hulahula** sites is well marked and maintained (since many people use it), while the way to the areas to the east is for the most part unmarked (since few people pass that way). This small group of hunters puts forth no sort of propriety claim to the harvest areas to the east of the **Hulahula** River, and to all appearances anyone who wished to could use them. The most common explanation in the village for the small amount of harvest activity **in** these areas is that they are farther away, not as well **known**, and have just about the same resources, and so it not worth the trouble to go there instead of the **Hulahula** River sites.

B. Moose

Moose are seldom harvested by **Kaktovik** hunters. Most hunters are well aware of where moose can be found, as these areas overlap for the most part with areas used to harvest sheep and winter caribou. Moose tend to be found within a more restricted environmental setting than do caribou or sheep, but there are still essentially no restrictions on the use of these areas, except that few people harvest moose. The reasons for this have been discussed in a previous section.

C. Fish

Fishing is perhaps the most site specific subsistence activity engaged in by **Kaktovik** residents. This is not because fish can be caught only in certain spots, as many informants insisted that you could set a net almost anywhere in a protected spot in the ocean (or chop a hole anywhere on the **Hulahula**) and catch fish. To catch fish most efficiently, however, one should know the physical features of the site and past experience assists **in** modifying the net sets to changing conditions. Fish camp sites also tend to be multi-purpose sites and people use them as places to live for several weeks to several months outside of the village. Such sites take on the characteristics of a second residence, especially if there is a permanent cabin or house on the site. There are relatively few sites with such structures, however. Winter ice fishing sites are all inland and are not restricted in terms of access (even those near Native allotment claims). We will discuss each of the main sorts of fishing in **Kaktovik** in turn.

Jigging

Ice fishing, or jigging, takes place predominately at the fish hole sites on the **Hulahula** River. Such **fishing takes place in conjunction with other** subsistence **activities** and is one of the reasons these sites are preferred as base camps over other possible alternatives. The other ice fishing locations mentioned in the discussion above are also mostly used in conjunction with hunting trips for other resources (mostly sheep and caribou, or furbearers). These fishing sites thus share the open access characteristic of caribou base camps discussed above, even though they are located at very precise locations. There are certainly fish at other locations as well, but people choose to **fish** at these locations because they provide access to other resources and they are gathering spots where **people** can expect to meet others and socialize while fishing. There are said to be locations near the village where **people** sometimes ice fish, but informants did not mention them during our research, and **Pedersen 1989a** says that no one used these locations during the period of his research. It is thus likely that ice fishing near the village is not a frequent activity.

Summer Net Fishing

Most nets tend to be set close to the village, although there are **also** several fish camps at some remove from the village. In most cases a group of people will fish together, so that even at a fish camp **with** a structure there will be a number of people living in tents as well. For those sites near the village, **people** may either tent out near where they set nets or check them periodically **on** trips from the **village**. **People** tend to set nets in the same area from year-to-year and to fish with the same people, but if someone else wanted to set a net in the same area there **would** be little difficulty in arranging for this. Net fishing sites are probably the most proprietary of **all Kaktovik** subsistence **harvest** sites, and in most cases co-use can be arranged simply by asking permission of those who are already using the area. In the case of a fish camp on or near a Native allotment it may be deemed wise to ask the owners or claimants of that allotment for **permission**, even if they are not at the moment using the site for fishing, but that is the only case where permission from a non-user may be asked. Thus, even for “personal” fish camps, there is at most a preferential but non-exclusive right of usage for the fish camp “owner.”

People do not usually pool the fish caught in their collective nets when they fish together at the same location, except that each household usually fishes as a unit. This is true even though kinsmen usually fish together. There may be some redistribution if some nets are markedly more productive than others, but in the normal case the nets are close enough to each other to each other that they catch about the same amount of fish. For ice fishing, each individual essentially fished independently, although the fish caught by members of one household may be bagged together. Fish caught are easy to keep track of since normally only one person uses a hole at a time.

D. Birds (Geese, Ducks, Ptarmigan)

Waterfowl are abundant, range over a wide area and can be harvested at a great many locations, and are ultimately unpredictable as to the **specific** location where they will be found. The general areas for the harvest of waterfowl can be predicted, however, and this information is common knowledge. The entire coast line, and especially the river deltas, are productive birding areas. The main sites and areas that were identified for spring birds were, from west to east, **Kanginniivik** (K-3), **Collison** Point (K-5 and K-6), Arey Island (on the lagoon side, K-17), a site on the high side of a curve on the **Okpilak** River (K-804), the base of the Manning Point spit (K-806), Griffin Point (K-27) and Pokok Bay (K-28). Bird hunting is commonly a family activity and maybe done in conjunction with other activities. Spring is the peak time for the harvest of waterfowl, although some hunting will continue through the summer and there is another, smaller, peak in the fall (August). The main sites mentioned for the fall harvest of birds were Griffin Point and Pokok Bay (and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:58-59 discuss other possible sites).

None of these sites is proprietary and most are in fact commonly used by a wide-range of community people. Historically, people camp out during the period of spring waterfowl hunting, but some informants say that this has been somewhat different in the last few years. Some families still camp out, and others make day trips out to these camps but return to Kaktovik after the day's harvest. One reason given for this is that people have started to use harvest **sites** closer **to** the village, thus allowing for easier access for daytrippers. The reason to use a site closer to the village is that the snow cover is vanishing at this time of year and the return trip to **Kaktovik** from a relatively more distant site (such as **Collison** Point, K-5 and K-6) can be difficult. Most hunters do have a favorite birding site, but this is also a function of who they like to go camping with. It is difficult for hunters to keep good locations to themselves, even if they wanted to, since there is such a social aspect to the harvest of waterfowl.

Some people use their fish camps as waterfowl harvest sites (Griffin Point, K-27, for example). These sites share the properties of fish camps, probably because the site's use as a fish camp continues for so much longer than its use as a place to harvest waterfowl. For such sites it is expected that permission will be asked of current users before harvesting and/or camping is begun. In most cases, people who use such a site at the same time will have made a plan to do so in the village in any event, so that the asking of permission is assumed or implied. In any event, waterfowl harvest sites are so available that access to the resource presents no problem and hunters tend to be more dispersed (in **clumps**, to be sure) than for hunting in the mountains.

E. Forbearers (Wolves, Wolverine, Fox)

Few informants would be very specific about harvest sites for furbearers. This was in part due to the mobility of these animals, so that they **are** seldom harvested in the same place.

It also reflects the reluctance to reveal information that may then enable someone else to take an animal that perhaps the other hunter would perhaps have harvested. Furbearers are perhaps the only species which brings out this sort of behavior. Hunters will compete in other subsistence spheres, but only for furbearers does information become proprietary.

Again, this can be related to characteristics of the animal, how **it** is hunted, and how it is used. Furbearers are relatively scarce and are one of the few items hunted that can be easily transformed into a relatively large amount **of** cash. There is also a constant demand for furs. Because of the mobility of the animal, a **large** area must be searched to find **them**, so that essentially it is necessary to hunt alone. The organization of furbearer hunting was described briefly in the yearly round discussion. A hunter will either go out alone, or with a group which will split up once they reach the area they want to hunt. Each hunter is essentially on his own while hunting.

The implications of this are that the general areas that are good for furbearers are commonly known. The techniques for finding **the** animals within this area and of making the **kill** separate the good hunters from the poorer ones, and there is **little** opportunity for one hunter to observe another's skills in these areas unless **he** is invited to "follow." Thus, it is not only a better knowledge **of** the land or harvest area that is operating to determine success, but also the **skill** of the hunter in using or working that area. This is true of **all** other resources as **well**, of course, but is not quite so obvious as in the case of **furbearer** harvest.

In terms of furbearers, hunting knowledge is often considered proprietary, **but** hunting areas are not. Any hunter can hunt any area. The **large** areas that must **be** covered while hunting is probably one reason that such open access must be maintained. The only exception is that an area being trapped by one hunter will not knowingly be hunted by another. There were said to be some hunters who were perhaps running **traplines** in Kaktovik, but this **could** not be verified. Most informants report that little or no trapping is actually done in Kaktovik and this certainly appeared to be the case during the period of our fieldwork.

F. Seals

Seals are mostly **hunted** in the summer from boats, relatively near Barter Island. Some sealing may be done with snow machines before breakup, but only by a very few hunters. The overall harvest level is much **lower** than in the past and many hunters no **longer** harvest seals at all. The primary use for seals is to make seal oil, which is used as a condiment when eating many other foods. Seals are so mobile and common that there is no question of access to the resource. The only possible exception is spotted seals, which are taken for their pelts. These are not common near Barter Island so that trips to Demarcation Bay are necessary if a hunter wishes to harvest spotted seal in particular. This may require a camping trip.

G. Whaling

Whaling is a cooperative activity and as such the Kaktovik whaling area is open to all who wish to participate in the hunt. The AEWC administers the hunt, and has slowly assumed a greater role than merely ensuring that the quota is not exceeded. The AEWC is also very concerned with safety during the hunt and the qualifications of the crews that are participating in the hunt. To these ends the AEWC registers all whaling captains and collects information on their crew members, and this does serve as a sort of restricting mechanism on who can organize a whaling crew. Almost anyone who wants to participate in whaling can find a role on an existing crew, but this serves to prevent the formation of new and inexperienced whaling crews by prospective whaling captains who maybe resource-rich but experience-poor.

In terms of use of the whaling area, there are no restrictions. In fact, in 1979 when conditions in the area where Nuiqsut crews normally whale were so bad that whaling there was impossible, they whaled with the Kaktovik crews. The division of a harvested whale is essentially similar to that in other villages. The captain of the first crew to strike the whale receives credit for taking that whale, and receives a large share of the whale. He is expected to redistribute a good deal of this, and does so, so that in fact most whales taken are treated as community property. Although this is the standard Inupiat ideological view on sharing as a value, it appears to more closely approach behavioral reality in Kaktovik than in some other villages.

H. Polar Bear

Polar bear are seldom taken as the result of a conscious decision to harvest a polar bear. Almost all polar bears taken by Kaktovik hunters are shot near the village, after it is decided that they pose a hazard to the safety of the residents. Most such bears are attracted to the whale butchering site near the village. The meat of these bears is widely distributed within the village, and is generally available to all. The skin will most often be kept by the person who actually shot the bear, but even that is not a given. Given the nature of where these bears are shot, there is no question of usufruct or the restriction of access.

I. Brown Bear

Brown bear are seldom hunted by Kaktovik hunters. It is not likely that there are any restrictions on where a person could harvest a brown bear, should he desire to do so, but there is no documentation on this subject.

J. Muskoxen

Muskoxen are a unique species in **Kaktovik** because of **the** regulation which surrounds **them**. It is impossible to separate the biological, social, political, and ideological components of what informants say about muskoxen from each other. Some informants say that they do not hunt **muskoxen** (because they do not like the meat, or they think they are too ugly to eat, or they are too regulated and a permit is too difficult to get) and that they do not know where the best areas for harvesting them are. Other informants do not hunt **muskoxen** but point out where they can be found. Other informants point out where they have guided sports hunters in the past on hunts, but claim not to have harvested a **muskox** themselves. There is no question of harvest site access for any of these informants, as no one questions the right of any **Kaktovik** resident to harvest **a** muskox wherever that person chooses, so long as he has a permit. The real use issue here is that permits are required for the harvest of a **muskox**, and very few such permits have been issued in the past and only ten per year will be issued in the future. The **usufruct** issue here does not concern access to a harvest area, but the regulation of the **act** of harvesting itself. This is better handled in the separate section on attitudes toward the resource management.

K Sheep

Sheep base camps have the same characteristics as caribou base camps because, for the most part, they **are** the same sites. **It** does not seem useful to repeat this **information**, which has been presented in two sections above, one discussing base camp characteristics in general and the second dealing with caribou subsistence harvest sites in particular.

L. Summary

For the most part, most subsistence resource harvest areas are treated in **Kaktovik** as commonly held resources **to** which **all** residents hold **usufruct**. Fish camps **are** the only real exception to this and since "most individuals 'own' or have access to at least one fish camp there is no real restriction to the resource in this case either. For especially prized species, however, knowledge that increases a hunter's chances of a successful harvest (special techniques, observations on the last known location of animals) may be considered proprietary and is not shared in a general way. It is likely that if privatization of land continues, and especially if lucrative alternative uses of land currently used for subsistence harvests develop, that **usufruct** rights **will** be restricted in certain contexts in the future. For the present, however, it seems clear that Native allotments are not being used as private pieces of land but rather are considered more like trusts held for the benefit and use of the community at large.

Native Allotments

This project has unfortunately not had the time **or** resources required to adequately deal with Native allotments in the **Nuiqsut** area. We had hoped to map them along with the subsistence harvest sites and areas, but this has not been possible. The information exists primarily **in** Bureau of Land Management (**BLM**) records and the minds of informants, and our portion of the research had neither the time nor the monetary resources to collect and organize this data. Many of the mapped subsistence harvest sites, especially fish camps, are in fact associated with Native Allotments, so that many of these sites are indeed included on our maps. It is to be hoped that the Minerals Management Service will take steps to have supplemental mapping work done which will focus specifically on Native allotments.

Most of the following information is drawn **from Pedersen et al. (1985:90-94,132)**. There are at least 116 Native Allotment claims, associated with 42 individuals, in the **Kaktovik** area. Of these, 82 (71 %) ^{are} located near the **coast**, most in the immediate Barter Island area and almost all the others between Barter Island and **Flaxman** Island. The remaining 34 (29%) Native allotment claims are located more than twenty miles inland, predominately along the **Hulahula** and **Sadlerochit** Rivers and in the Schrader Lake region. Nearly **all** of these Native allotment claims are associated with subsistence resource harvest sites. Fully 83 (72%) of the Native allotment claims are adjacent to place name sites (not all of which are included in this report as sites, but they are certainly included as harvest areas).

Pedersen et al. speculate as to the strategy which motivated people in their selections of Native allotments (**1985:94**). For **our** purposes it is sufficient to look at the implications of the current use of such sites. None are being used at present to make individual proprietary claims on subsistence resource harvest sites. The importance ascribed to them by people in the community, and their interest in having them mapped, would seem to indicate that they are intended to proclaim a community claim on the use of these sites. Further, the land use claim extends beyond the very **limited** boundaries of the Native allotments themselves, which are used primarily for base camps. As we have seen in the above discussions, most of the “harvest sites” identified by informants or place names are actually camp sites at which **people** stay while hunting a much larger territory.

Most of these Native allotments do not have structures associated with **them**, as they lie within Federal lands. Technically, Native allotment holders can build on their **land** once it is granted to them, but practically they need to obtain permission to transport the materials or prefabricated building over federal land. This is the process which had been followed so that a shelter building can be constructed at First Fish **Hole**, which **Kaktovik** people have perceived as a need for some time.

Oil Development: Effects and Attitudes

The effects of oil development on the subsistence resources around **Kaktovik**, and on the hunting behavior of the local **population**, have been many and various. Since the village is by no **means** homogeneous there are disagreements among residents as to the proper course of future development. Some advocate no development and a return to as close to a subsistence lifestyle as possible. A very few may claim that subsistence is no longer a viable alternative and that industrial development is the only option. Most opt for a middle course which espouses industrial (oil) development at a slow enough pace to ensure that there is no environmental **degradation**, but at a **level** sufficient to maintain the present economic standards of the villages. This reveals a fundamental ambivalence underlying North **Slope Inupiat** life. One primary wish is for a "modern American" standard of living, a desire which is no less a cultural hero than **Eben Hopson** articulated as one of the major reasons for the formation of the NSB. At potential odds **with** this desire is the **Inupiat** fundamental identity with the land and the **Inupiat** place in the **cycle** of subsistence, and the fear that industrial development, **no** matter how careful and conscientious, will invariably **lead** to environmental degradation and the **loss** of this **Inupiat** cultural identity. The **Inupiat** cultural identity involves more than what has been termed the "subsistence lifestyle." The **Inupiat** heritage is inextricably linked to the **land**. The land breathes life into the people and is used as the touchstone of ultimate meaning and value. The key issue resolves itself into the familiar parameters of economics and values. How can **Inupiat** achieve and maintain a standard of living comparable to that of other Americans and still maintain their fundamental subsistence identity? **To** this ultimate question we **will** not hazard to provide even a temporary answer, but we **will look** at some of the aspects of this question that are evident in Kaktovik.

These issues in **Kaktovik** are further complicated by the different classifications of land ownership **in** the area. To the west of the Canning River are state lands. Land to the east of the Canning River is federal land (**ANWR**), with some Native selected land to the immediate east and west of **Kaktovik**. **There** are also the 116 Native allotment **claims** scattered throughout the **area**. About 68% of **Kaktovik's** subsistence **land** use area lies on federal **land**, 30% on state land, and 2% on private (Native Corporation) land (**Pedersen et al. 1985:96**). Much of this **land** is considered to have high potential for hydrocarbon development. There is an exploratory well being drilled off of Camden Bay and a number of potential state and federal lease sales that would include areas within the **Kaktovik** land use area (**Pedersen et al.'s** estimate is that they would include 56% of the total **Kaktovik** subsistence land use area -- **Pedersen et al. 1985:99**). Oil development has not progressed beyond the exploration stage **in** the **Kaktovik** area as yet, but many people are already worried about the potential effects full-scale development could have. There is the additional complicating factor that there are at **least** three and perhaps more interested parties in the debate -- the oil companies, the residents of **Kaktovik**, and those functionaries responsible for protecting the public trust of **ANWR**. In addition there is the NSB (whose interests do not precisely align with either the oil companies or the residents of **Kaktovik**),

the federal government (with conflicting mandates of energy development and environmental protection), and conservationist groups.

Most **Kaktovik** informants would agree with the assessment that the effects of oil development *per se* have not been terribly bad. Some people have obtained jobs (mostly temporary), others have received training, the village negotiated a formal agreement (along with **Nuiqsut**) to govern the conduct of oil exploration and drilling activity during the fall whaling season while there has been little development activity as such. However, when **the** potential effects of oil development are considered, along with the possible side effects of present **exploratory** activity and the permitting process that has been initiated to determine if drilling will be allowed within **ANWR**, the balance may appear to be much less positive from the **Kaktovik** perspective.

1. Restriction of the Subsistence Range

Since oil development has not yet taken place in the **Kaktovik area**, this issue is a matter of fear. Many **Kaktovik** hunters are worried that oil development will substantially reduce the area that is available for them to hunt. This is potentially a very serious effect. Although few hunters use the entire **Kaktovik** subsistence land use **area**, and in fact portions of it are seldom used by anyone at present, the “unused portion is perceived as an insurance policy by informants. They know that animals, for whatever **reason**, can vary in unpredictable ways and that they may not always be available in the future where they are harvested now. **Kaktovik** hunters have also seen how **Nuiqsut** residents have effectively been deprived of the hunting territory to the east of that village by the **Kuparak** and Prudhoe Bay oil fields. They do not want a similar thing to happen to them.

2. Permitting Process Effects

This topic will only be introduced here, as a somewhat fuller discussion will be developed in the attitudes toward resource management section. Perhaps the major effect that **Kaktovik** residents have seen as a result of potential oil development in **ANWR** is that they have been inundated with journalists, conservationists, and research biologists. The researcher was asked numerous times if he was a member of Friends of the Earth or Trustees for Alaska. He was told perhaps three times about the latest journalist/magazine writer who had come to **Kaktovik**, talked to **almost** no one, and written what locals considered a fabrication about life in **Kaktovik**. In the final analysis, however, these seemed to be relatively minor annoyances that the informants were well able to deal with, and used as examples to sensitize the researcher to the potential effects of his research report, **from** the **Kaktovik** (or at least that informant's) perspective. Most informants did not even seem to mind too much that most of the journalists and other such people who come into **Kaktovik** stay at the private hotel operated by non-local interests which contributes little, except an expensive place to eat, to the economy of **Kaktovik**. What most concerned village

informants was the invasion of the research biologists, all identified as working for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (USF&WS), no matter what their formal affiliation.

Informants claim, and USF&WS confirmed, that 80 researchers were working out of Kaktovik last summer (1989). USF&WS has two large buildings in Kaktovik (built by a non-local contractor, incidently) which were not sufficient to house all of these people, so a significant number were housed at the DEW-Line station. The exact nature of the studies being conducted did not seem to matter to the informants. What they reported was that the cumulative impact of this many people, moving around the countryside disturbing the animals, combined with the air traffic required to provide them with adequate logistical support, severely degraded the quality of life in the village and is the primary cause, in their view, for the scarcity of caribou on the coast in the summer. This may reflect a general community-wide dissatisfaction with government wildlife agencies as much as it really represents what people believe is the fundamental reason for fewer caribou on the coast in the summer. USF&WS and the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) have also received low marks for their handling of the muskox permitting system, and muskox are given as another principal cause for why caribou are not as plentiful on the coast in the summer as usual. USF&WS has also incurred the displeasure of village residents by not allowing All Terrain Vehicle travel in ANWR, except by special permit along river courses for the purpose of reaching Native allotments. The “true” causal connections cannot be unraveled here, but it is clear that the pivotal role that the USF&WS has assumed in Kaktovik life is because of its responsibilities to oversee studies in response to oil company interest in ANWR.

3. Information Processing Burdens and Leadership

This topic can not be developed to any great extent, but is clearly an everyday problem in village life, and is directly related to the section above. Informants say that even when they know about lease sales coming up that it is very difficult for them to know where to ask for the information that is available about the various studies being done. Even after they receive information, they must find time to read it, process it, and respond. Even when they respond and make comments, they seldom have the sense that they have been heard, and even more rarely do they see local people as having any effect on decisions made on lease sales, as all are made outside of the village. Furthermore, lease sales are only the tip of the iceberg. The entire permitting process, before and after lease sales, produces a mountain of paper that is potentially available to local villagers, but which they rarely see. On one hand this is a blessing, as they do not really have the time to process it. On the other hand, being uninformed means that they do not have any effective way to participate in the process. The NSB Planning Department (and especially the Permitting Division) helps to some extent in this regard, as they try to track all development efforts on the slope. This is their mandate, since they must issue permits before any development can take place. This centralizes information in Barrow, however, and generally very little of the detailed information reaches the villages.

Village informants frequently state that they feel overwhelmed by the sheer mass of information available to **them**, but that they do not know how to go about obtaining it and are not sure they could actually usefully process it. The regulatory system has become too large and complex for **small** communities to deal with. This is no doubt why, in **Kaktovik**, most people are willing to defer to the NSB central planners in dealing with oil development questions. Although they do not totally represent local interests, they at least understand the **Inupiat** view of the world and are somewhat responsive to local (**Kaktovik**) opinions. Furthermore, they have the resources to adequately collect and assess the paper documentation produced as a byproduct of the permitting process and to track the compliance of development with the stipulations put upon it. Perhaps most important, the NSB is an entity with enough leverage (taxing authority, lobbyists) that oil companies and the state and federal governments are attentive to NSB views and actions. The **NSB** can negotiate with these entities in a much more **successful** way than can the local villages, for the most part.

There is also no consensus in the village on whether oil development should take place in **ANWR**. Most members of the City Council and officers of the village corporation support controlled development in **ANWR**, believing that such development is essential for the continued economic health of the NSB and **Kaktovik**, and that it should be possible to avoid the worst potential impacts on subsistence activities. They say that most village residents believe similarly. In fact, from conversations with a large number of Kaktovik residents it appears that the overwhelming sentiment is against oil development, combined with a resignation as to its inevitability. "Ordinary" residents have no confidence that there will be a local "tradeoff" of economic benefits and environmental protection measures returned for the permission to drill. This is an interesting difference between the leaders of the village and those who have elected them to office. In many cases, village informants will say that they are against drilling but that it is an issue for the leaders to deal with, since that is what they were elected for. Perhaps "non-leaders" are simply looking for a way to avoid responsibility for making any of the hard decisions involved in assessing **the** balance of potential risks and benefits. This is certainly consistent with the dynamics of NSB village politics as documented for other communities (**Galginaitis** et al. 1984, Impact Assessment 1989, Impact Assessment 1990), but this is not a topic that can be developed here.

There is almost complete agreement that there should not be any off-shore drilling, **and** certainly not before all on-shore resources have been explored. This position is taken for both environmental and economic reasons. The potential dangers to subsistence resources of an off-shore accident are perceived as far greater (regardless of the probability of such an accident) than for an accident on-shore, especially in the wake of the **Exxon Valdez** incident. Also, the NSB will reap a much greater addition to its tax base from on-shore development than from off-shore development, and this would trickle (or gush, depending on your viewpoint) down to Kaktovik and the other NSB villages. Any wells developed on Kaktovik **Inupiat** Corporation (**KIC** -- the Kaktovik village Native Corporation) land would of course have obvious economic benefits to the corporation and local residents.

4. Negotiated Accommodation With the Oil Companies

The relationship between Kaktovik and the oil companies is based on pragmatism. Each knows that the other is trying to serve its own interests and has a fairly good idea of what those interests are. For the oil companies, the goal is to obtain access to promising lease tracts, with a minimum of local opposition and a minimum of regulation. For **Kaktovik** the goals are twofold. They want to protect the integrity of the environment and the local subsistence resources. That said, and recognized to be at times a goal that has to be compromised before the negotiations even start, the second goal is to extract as many economic concessions from the oil companies as possible (again it is possible to draw parallels to **Kaktovik-NSB** relations, **but** politics is not the topic of this report). This is perhaps made clearest by a few brief examples of such negotiated bargains.

A. Oil/Whalers Agreement

The reasons for the Oil/Whalers agreement are patently obvious. The **Inupiat** want to whale with as little interference as possible, and are willing to accept **all** the help that the oil industry is willing to provide. The oil industry wants to avoid the negative publicity of interfering with the **Inupiat** subsistence whale hunt, but desires as **little** interference with its day-to-day exploration and production activities as possible in the very short open-water season in the Beaufort. The oil companies are quite prepared to spend some money as a cost of doing business to ensure **this**.

Nuiqsut and Kaktovik have taken the lead in negotiating the agreement since they **are** essentially the only villages which **whale** in the fall, but not in the spring. In the spring, leads open in the ice which generally permit the **Inupiat** further to the west to harvest whales (these leads open too far out from **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik** to be usable). The ice cover remains too extensive and unstable for the safe operation of drill ships, however, and even though seismic testing can physically take place at this time, it is supposed to be suspended when whales are present. Thus, **Inupiat** spring whaling ends for the most **part** before oil operations **really** begin. In the fall, on the other hand, the ice is “out” and the oil companies are trying to complete their drilling season before the weather and ice shut them down. The whales, on their trip back south, pass close enough to the shore so that crews from **Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut** can effectively hunt them (whereas the whales pass too far out for any of the villages further west to do so, except for Barrow - and Barrow **most** often fills its quota in the spring). The Beaufort Sea in the **fall** would appear to be the only setting for direct confrontations between **Inupiat** whalers and oil industry activities, and the Oil/Whalers Agreement seems to be a logical development to achieve a workable compromise between those two sets of activities. As the 1986 Oil/Whalers **Agreement** states: “It is in the best interest of all concerned that industry vessels avoid interfering with or restricting the bowhead whale hunt” (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:3).

The agreement has several provisions (what follows is abstracted from Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:3-5). One is a communications system to allow whalers and operators of industry vessels to talk to each other. All equipment, except the radio tower at **Kaktovik**, is provided by the oil companies. The oil companies are responsible for the installation of the equipment and the training of the operators, and the maintenance of the equipment when it is returned after each season. The communications center in Deadhorse is to be manned by **Inupiat** from **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**, and each industry vessel is to have an **Inupiat** trained as a “communicator” to ensure that the system works smoothly. There is a manual stating explicit rules for how industry vessels are to notify whaling boats of their positions and vice versa, and actions **industry** vessels are to take to avoid restricting or interfering with the hunt.

It is explicitly stated that the communications system can not be used to “scout” for bowhead whales or to otherwise report whale locations to subsistence hunters. It may be used for emergency assistance support.

Specific assistance that the oil companies will provide is listed as follows:

- 1.. Help tow caught whales (if an industry boat is near by and available) to a suitable butchering site in order to prevent meat from spoiling.
2. Cache emergency supplies (gasoline, food, etc.) for use during the course of the hunt.
3. Provide emergency assistance in adverse weather conditions.
4. Assist in transporting whale meat and muktuk to the village which caught the whale in order to prevent spoilage and maximize consumption (Oil/Whalers Working Group 1986:4-5).

The oil industry also agreed that vessel traffic east of Kaktovik will be curtailed “as far as is practical” and that should such traffic be necessary it would be as far offshore as possible. All seismic vessels would retrieve all **lost** gear with all possible speed, and if recovery is not possible, to notify other vessels of the loss through the communications system. This probably refers to **cable** which could foul boats very easily. The companies also recognize the need to obtain permits for exploration and drilling. If such permits are denied, they may withdraw from this agreement. Any oil company that secures a permit may participate in this agreement (and not just the signatories). The agreement was for 1986 only, but was signed with the idea that it would be renewed on an annual basis, and amended as necessary.

The agreement has been renewed annually since 1986, and as might be expected, has undergone some changes. The first year was quite instructive, as the whalers asked for, and received, a great amount of help. **Nuiqsut** took a whale that year and requested assistance in towing and butchering it. It was towed to the east dock at **Prudhoe** Bay, butchered, and flown by Hercules aircraft to **Nuiqsut**. One industry representative (who will not be identified) estimated that this and the other assistance provided that year cost \$600,000. The oil companies made the decision not to do that **again**, so that it **must now** be a real emergency before they **will** help to tow a whale. This also ensures that the subsistence nature of the hunt is not threatened by too much outside assistance.

Oil companies are still agreeable to helping transport the butchered whale to storage at **Olliktok** Point, so long as the **Inupiat** tow it themselves to Cross Island, butcher it there, and transport the butchered parts themselves to the facilities at Endicott. The **oil** companies will then box them up and truck them to **Olliktok** Point. This the oil companies perceive as a reasonable level of assistance and one that does not affect the subsistence nature of the hunt, while it does materially assist the **Nuiqsut** whalers. **Nuiqsut** whalers have interpreted the second sort of assistance listed above as implying that the oil companies should provide **all** their gas and food while they are out whaling. The **oil** companies have resisted this interpretation for obvious reasons. Still, both parties express satisfaction with the agreement. The **Inupiat** gain a whaling season relatively free from interference and **all the** assistance that they can convince the oil companies to provide. The oil companies gain some positive public relations **and** as short **an** interruption in their normal activities **as** possible, since they have complete information about when whales are harvested **and** there is a strict quota on whales.

The larger implications of the Oil/Whalers Agreement have not as yet become clear. Most informants in **Nuiqsut** (and **Kaktovik**) perceive the agreement as a reasonable compromise. Informants in other villages express a few more doubts. The fundamental question seems to be the inherent **conflict** between the protection of subsistence resources and the dangers posed to those resources by **oil** development. There **is** a perception that the Oil/Whalers Agreement results in short term gains for **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**, but **has** the potential for long term deleterious effects on all whaling villages. There is no similar cooperative agreement covering spring whaling, and apparently **little** pressure from either party to the existing Oil/Whalers Agreement to negotiate one. This is understandable if most whalers are indeed unsure of the long term benefits of such an agreement. From the perspective of the oil companies, as discussed above, spring whaling occurs at the beginning of the open water **season**, before most offshore drilling activity takes **place**. While **leads** open in the ice fields and generally allow the **Inupiat** to harvest whales, the ice cover is too extensive and too unstable during this time to allow **drill** ships to operate. The oil interests would logically have little interest in a "spring Oil/Whalers Agreement" in the absence of the possibility of such oil-related activity.

The question of the utility to the **Inupiat** of such explicit agreements with **industry** (perceived to represent "development") is a complex issue, potentially pitting cultural values

against economic interests, potentially dividing villages into opposing camps, and potentially creating conflicts between institutions. The last AEWG **annual** meeting in Barrow surfaced some of these feelings, where a resolution was introduced stating explicitly that any agreements between a village or villages and representatives of oil companies were in no way binding on other **villages**. Informants were vague as to what the resolution actually meant, and even as to whether it was passed. They were quite clear in stating that its purpose was to state uneasiness with having formal agreements with oil companies. In this regard, the Chairman **if** the **AEWG** is reported to have informally stated that he has no objections to the Oil/Whalers Agreement or similar contracts, as long as they do not prejudice the long term interests of **Inupiat** subsistence hunters. This is a **politer** way of expressing the same set of doubts. Nielsen 1988 briefly discusses this issue, but more to state that profound conflicts are implicit in the situation than to describe and analyze these conflicts. The development of these issues is clearly **important**, and perhaps the most critical subsistence-related question on the North Slope, but is also very difficult and ultimately beyond what could be accomplished in the time available for this work.

It is also clear from the terms of the agreement and the way that informants in the two villages talk about it that the assistance provided by the oil companies is much more beneficial to **Nuiqsut** whalers than to those from **Kaktovik**. The **Kaktovik** whaling area is near their village and they do not usually require any logistical assistance. **Nuiqsut** whalers, **on** the other hand, have severe logistical problems in transporting their harvest even under the best of conditions. This is a case of **Inupiat** solidarity in the face of an outside agency, however, with Kaktovik willing to essentially follow **Nuiqsut's** lead in this matter.

B. The Oil Spill Response Team

The oil spill response team was an idea of the Atlantic Richfield Company (**ARCO**) liaison to **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik**, but the idea worked so well that **it** maybe extended to the other villages. The idea is simplicity itself. **ARCO** hired twenty individuals from the two villages (ten **from** each) and trained them in the state-of-the-art techniques for **cleaning** up oil spills. Thus, each of this people now has a good understanding of the capabilities for cleaning up an oil spill, and realizes that should the need arise, at least **local** people will be involved to see that it is done correctly (and local **people will** receive the wages paid to clean up the spill). Furthermore, the oil companies provided each of the villages with a complete set of the equipment that is needed for oil spill cleanup. The most salient possibility is of course a large offshore spill, but that is also the least likely. Although these individuals did receive some training for that, most of their instruction was in how to **deal** with the more mundane but all too common "small" **spill** on kind. This is also applicable to the village experience, since it is exactly this sort of spill that villagers would have to deal with **should** they have an accident in one of their power plants, or should a storage tank **leak**, or a drum leak. In fact, most NSB community dumps have quite a few barrels of unlabeled waste, many of which have been or soon **will** be leaking, and it is anticipated that these trained individuals could be very useful in handling this problem.

The **tradeoffs** are again fairly obvious. The oil companies once again receive some positive public relations for community service. They also ensure that the village public is educated, from the oil company's perspective, as to the risks of oil spills and the ways to deal with them. The trained individuals can be expected to share this with their friends and neighbors, and even though they know the information is not from a neutral source it is likely **to** be accepted fairly readily. The participating **Inupiat** gain a wage while training and the knowledge that there **will** be **local** participation in any local cleanup that should be required. In **addition**, they have had the opportunity to work on other cleanups, for a good wage, employing the skills that they were taught in this program. Not all can take advantage of this, since many work full-time, but the program clearly provided benefits to both parties.

C. Inupiat (Native) Hire

Inupiat hire is not the same as Native hire, since many **non-Inupiat Kaktovik** residents are still considered "Native" hire since they are (more-or-less) permanent residents of **Kaktovik**. That point made, we should also note that this is section not meant as a complete discussion of native hire. Rather, it stresses one main point, which is that **local Inupiat** fully realize that they are **underrepresented** in the oil industry **labor** force, that the jobs they do **hold** in the oil industry are different from those held by **non-Inupiat**, and that they think that most **Inupiat** are hired by the oil companies merely as a "cost of doing business" and not in any serious attempt to train a skilled **Inupiat labor** force. The **model** is then one in which **Inupiat** are given jobs so that they **feel** they are part of the **system**, receive some of the rewards, and **will not** object so strongly to development as it occurs. That this somewhat cynical view of the situation bears a strong resemblance **to** reality is unfortunately all too clear. That the oil companies bear all of the blame for this is not at **all** obvious. The **Inupiat** labor force in many ways has adapted to exploit the worst aspects of this system, which commonly rewards sporadic or irregular working hours and often results in unproductive workers (by the "normal" standards of the employers as judged by their operations in other areas). **An Inupiat** who wishes to find steady, challenging work in the oil industry can do so, but he must exert himself. **Otherwise** he is **likely** to find himself in a temporary job and eventually laid **off**.

Most village informants viewed most oil industry jobs as "pay-off" positions. That is, the industry hires a certain number of **Inupiat** so that they can say they have paid out so much in wages to locals and can claim a certain percentage of "local hire." Most of these positions are temporary and unskilled, so that eventually the people are laid off. Thus there is a pattern of **Inupiat** going **to** work in the oil fields, being there several months, and returning to the village. **Sometimes** they **quit**, and sometimes they are **laid off** or fired. Eventually, if they want to **return**, they will be able to obtain another temporary job. Industry representatives said that few **Inupiat** want a full-time, permanent job in the **oil** industry. It requires too much time out of the village. There are some **Inupiat**, on the other hand, who treat the oil industry as a source of jobs that is always available. So long as they can pass the chug test (required of **all oil industry job** applicants), most **Inupiat** who desire an oil field

job can obtain one. The rate of failure of the drug test seems to be related to age. Young men have a very high rate of failure, and make up the largest segment of the potential labor force. The industry side has not been examined in much detail, but there appears to be a common perception that too little effort is being made to involve **Inupiat** in any meaningful way in the oil industry.

Thus, **Inupiat** hire maybe one area where the negotiated solution is still far from adequate. Some **Inupiat** are working in the oil industry, but not nearly as many as could be expected and not in truly responsible positions. On the **Inupiat** side, too many **Inupiat** seem to accept the type of positions that they are given and are willing to go along for the ride. Perhaps this is perceived by individuals as individually beneficial, but collectively it would seem to have a number of negative effects. The industry side has not been examined in much detail, but there appears to be a common perception that too little effort is being made to involve **Inupiat** in any meaningful way in the oil industry.

Attitudes Toward Resource Management

The **Inupiat** of Kaktovik are not a uniform group, any more than are the members of any other American community. Thus it should be no surprise that there are significant differences in what different members of the community think of the various agencies involved with resource management in Kaktovik. There are at least four agencies that **Kaktovik** must deal with concerning subsistence resources alone -- the North Slope Borough Department of Wildlife Management, the Alaska Department of Fish and Game (regulates all fish and wildlife except for migratory birds and marine mammals, at least until July of 1990), the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (migratory waterfowl, polar bear, walrus, sea otters), and the National Marines Fisheries Service (seals, whales). In addition, of course, there is the Bureau of Land Management, the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission, and all the other advisory boards dealing with locally used species. Lastly, there are the oil companies and the various government agencies associated (at least in the **Inupiat** mind) with the oil companies, among them the Minerals Management Service and the Army Corps of Engineers. The Environmental Protection Agency also takes actions on certain issues of local concern (the classification and regulation of wetlands is perhaps the one which most inflames Alaskan passions at present). Kaktovik residents realize that these agencies are to a large extent independent, but at another level villagers treat them all as pretty much the same. Certainly wildlife management issues crosscut the agencies and local people are often frustrated by the inability of any one agency to deal with an issue in a complete way. All too often different agencies have partial responsibilities and the end result is frustration and a conviction that no management at all would be better than the current system. No state or federal agency is perceived to be responsive to local concerns or suggestions. The NSB fares somewhat better, but is still viewed with suspicion. Native regulatory groups (**AEWC** for example) are considered the best mechanism if such management is a practical necessity.

Industrial development (mainly oil development, but potentially mining, **tourism**, and perhaps other activities) and resource management (wildlife as well as mineral resources) are explicitly linked together by most **Inupiat**. This is quite understandable as it is an accurate assessment of the situation. What seems to puzzle most **Inupiat** is why the various government agencies on their fact-finding missions and during public hearings apparently try **to** keep the two separated. Government agencies are never quite trusted in the village because villagers **are** never quite sure what their real agenda is. Researchers often also **fit** into this category. If informants are unsure of what a person's position is on the relationship between development and the protection of subsistence resources (and access to them), local control over local resources, and whatever other issues are pertinent at the time, it is difficult for those informants to trust the information collector to use the data collected in away that the informants see as beneficial (or at **least** not harmful). In a "funny" way this explains why oil company representatives often have better relations with villagers than do researchers or government agency representatives. The interests of the oil companies are known and in most cases their representatives are pragmatists who are willing to use the resources at their disposal to negotiate a practical compromise or trade. The local **Inupiat** can understand the **goals** and motivation of the oil companies, even if they do not much like **them**. Knowing this, they can interact with them with a fairly good idea of what information they are willing to share, how they want to present it, and how it can be used **to** facilitate reaching a solution acceptable to the local community.

1. Attitudes Toward Animal Study Projects

Animal study projects are for the most part perceived by **Inupiat** as related to wildlife management programs. Since for the most part **Inupiat** do not think much of wildlife management, they avoid animal study projects as much as possible. Participation in voluntary reporting programs is generally low, and even an unobtrusive measure such as the number of hunting licenses sold **is** unreliable since few **Inupiat** hunters (and even some **non-Inupiat** hunters) do not buy licenses. Certain **animal** studies draw stronger comments, especially in Kaktovik where there are so many different studies going on at the same time in the summer.

Most of the studies which **Inupiat** express displeasure with, rather than simply ignoring, are those which involve handling the animal and marking it physically. To handle the animal it must usually be immobilized. In the past the agent of choice has been a dart gun administering a drug. Most **Inupiat** are very reluctant to eat a harvest animal that has been marked, since they fear that the drug used to immobilize the **animal** may have affected the **meat**. Some **Inupiat** think that this drug changes the animal's behavior and makes it stay in the area where it was drugged. The use of drugs to immobilize animals is so discomfoting to most **Inupiat** that the Alaska Department of Fish & Game is now investigating other methods to capture animals to mark them.

Inupiat are in general very unhappy about marking animals. Radio collars on caribou and polar bear are a source of constant comment, as when such animals are harvested it is quite common to find areas rubbed raw of **skin, infection**, or some other sign of irritation. **Inupiat** seem to regard the collaring of an animal as somewhat of an indignity to that animal as well. They understand the rationale for collaring a limited number of animals, but would still prefer that it not be done.

Several people also commented negatively about a study of **muskoxen** winter habitat that was just starting up (for its second year) during our short period of fieldwork. **Kaktovik** residents are generally critical of anything to do with **muskoxen**, as they feel that they have been taken advantage of and manipulated by the agencies who introduced the **muskoxen** and have regulated them. Be that as it may, the comments directed toward this particular project was that it was too expensive (it could be done cheaper, faster, and better), did not involve **Inupiat** with local expertise, and was essentially harassing the animals. These points are interrelated. The research method used for this project is to essentially go out and find some **muskoxen** (in March), follow them to see where they are foraging, and to stake out test plots where they have been observed. These plots will then be examined in the summer to determine the vegetative and other characteristics of preferred **muskoxen** “winter” habitat. Informants were of the view that following the **muskoxen** was a waste of time and also disturbed their behavior by causing them to move more than normal. They suggested that an aerial survey **would** serve the study purposes just as well. These informants then generalized these comments to caribou studies, bird studies, and a host of other activities that they thought may be going on in the summer. In most cases informants have no quarrel with individual researchers and actually **like** them as people (when they know them -- many researchers are essentially anonymous to the village at large).

More generally, **Kaktovik Inupiat** simply feel that too many studies are being done, especially in the summer. One of the frequent comments made to the researcher during this project was that this research had been done before, and there has indeed been a good deal of prior research on place names and subsistence in **Kaktovik** (Jacobson and Wentworth 1982, Pedersen and Coffing 1984, Coffing and Pedersen 1985, Pedersen et al. 1985, Pedersen 1989a, Pedersen 1989b, Pedersen 1990). Informant said that they were tired of answering the same questions, but eventually a good number of people agreed to participate in the study. One important factor was that the researcher was willing to **listen** to what people wanted to talk about, as informants say that one of the major defects of most of the research conducted in the Barter Island area is that the researchers never talk to the local **Inupiat** about what they know, or try to involve them in the project. Another important factor was that this research was conducted at a time when there were relatively few “outsiders” in the village. When there are 80 researchers in and around a village the size of **Kaktovik**, it is not likely that there would be enough local people to keep track of what is going on, let alone participate in a meaningful way. The local population simply feels overwhelmed.

2. Muskoxen

The muskoxen issue is perhaps the case which brings most of these points together, but we must unfortunately be brief in describing the situation. Muskoxen were reintroduced with the promise that once they were biologically viable, hunting would be allowed. When hunting was initiated, however, a series of circumstances excluded most **local** hunters from the permitting process. Only a few **muskoxen** were allowed to be harvested each year, and these went mostly to sports hunters. Local hunters saw **this** as an attempt by the state to make money (through permit fees) from a **local Kaktovik** resource, at the expense of the locals, who were being denied access to a potential food source. The system was modified so that the permit fee was not so high, but this simply encouraged more sports hunters to apply and locals were again left out. Only since the 1985-86 season have a substantial portion of the permits gone to Kaktovik residents, and there was still the problem that several of these permits went to non-Native, transient, residents. Recently the regulations were changed again so that it now appears that the village of **Kaktovik** will be allocated five of the ten permits, which will be distributed among the village hunting population by a method to be determined by the City Council or the Elders of **Kaktovik**.

Muskoxen have thus been entangled in the political issue of **local** control. Muskoxen are also a new species to the active hunters of the community, since **not even their** parents actually harvested a muskox **in** the Kaktovik area. They are known mainly through oral tradition. It is thus not absolutely **clear** what informants are **really** 'saying when some of them maintain that caribou do not **like** muskoxen, and that one of the reasons caribou are now scarce on the coast in summer is that **muskoxen are** establishing home territories there. It is undeniably the case that caribou have spent less time on the coast during the past several summers than in the past. Muskoxen as a causal factor is difficult to assess.

Muskoxen are more territorial animals than are caribou, and **Inupiat** informants say that caribou will move on rather than stay in **an** area with **muskoxen**. Whether this is traditional knowledge gained from Elders or a generalization made from current present experience is not always **clear**. There is a **clear** correlation between areas where informants say muskoxen are present and where they used to reliably harvest caribou and no **longer** find this to be **the** case.

There are other possible explanations or factors to account for the lack of caribou on **the** coast. One, often used **by Inupiat** informants in conjunction with or instead of the **muskoxen** theory is that the high frequency of airplane, and especially helicopter, flights associated with wildlife research support chases caribou away from **the** village and the coast in general. The caribou return to the mountains as soon as possible so that they can avoid this harassment. This could also be interpreted as an argument over **local** control, however, with the validity of the "facts" of the argument necessarily being the most important aspect of the problem. Figuring out whether **Inupiat** informants are actually describing about what they really believe is happening in terms of animal behavior, or whether it is actually more of a hypothetical explanation **really** gauged to express their dissatisfaction with agencies such as

USF&WS and **ADF&G** is a very difficult task. Given our limited time in the village and the lack of reliable “western scientific” knowledge about **muskoxen-caribou** and **caribou-aircraft** behavior, it is clearly impossible for us to make this assessment. Our purpose here is to report what informants told us, and to give what we think are the possible different interpretative contexts for that information.

Wildlife biologists will remind you that caribou populations have historically been highly variable, exhibiting a boom-and-bust cycle. The reasons for caribou population growth and decline are not clear, but **Inupiat** informant accounts clearly indicate that this is part of their knowledge base as well and that **Inupiat** have had to adapt to the lack of caribou for various periods of time in the past. Even within the past ten to twenty years **Inupiat** informants recalled years when the caribou herds came to the coast before or during breakup, and left before there was enough open water for boating. In those years the take of summer caribou was very low. Some individuals would thus want to argue that the absence of caribou is due more to the as yet not understood variation in caribou behavior rather than to muskoxen or aircraft. **Again**, this is beyond our area of expertise.

3. Relations With Wildlife Agencies -- Other Issues

Informants in **Kaktovik** were generally suspicious of **USF&WS** and **ADF&G**, knowing that those agencies do have enforcement responsibilities. For the most part, local residents thought that Kaktovik was being made a “test case” to see if it was possible for the regulations to be strictly enforced in relation to a Native, subsistence-oriented, population. This poses a real quandary for many of the hunters of **Kaktovik**, because they do not want to break the law. North Slope village residents are among the most fundamentally law-abiding American citizens. At the same time, they object to patently “silly” laws or regulations, obviously written to cover a general case and a wide **area**, that fail completely to take the-particular circumstances of the North Slope into account. One primary example of this is the open season on migratory waterfowl. Waterfowl are usually not available during the legal season, and only for a very limited time in’ the legally closed period. Most **Inupiat** harvest waterfowl, feeling that they are not hurting the populations and do not waste what they take. There have been informational meetings **held** by **USF&WS** about the season restrictions on waterfowl, with the implicit message that they would not be strictly enforced on the North Slope for the moment. The lack of available staff, and the more critical enforcement needs in other parts of Alaska were cited. The issue is still one that many village residents, in **Kaktovik** as well the other NSB villages, worry about. The recent pressure to have **all** ivory sealed and polar bear hides tagged is also seen as an attempt to get people used to adhering to regulations.

Most Kaktovik residents, when asked, will say that the best management **would** be to let the local people manage the local animals and the hunting of those animals. This essentially reduces to a lack of conscious management. Informants refer to this as the “traditional” **Inupiat** way of taking only what you need and not wasting it, so that the resource **will** be

maintained. **Pedersen et al. (1985:64-65)** report recent informant accounts of this behavior applied to sheep. They provide similar information concerning **polar bear (Pedersen et al. 1985: 100)**. An informant in **Kaktovik** told our researcher that if muskoxen hunting were made completely open to **Kaktovik** subsistence hunters, and sports hunting not allowed, that the herd would be maintained at a healthy level. He predicted heavy harvesting for the first year, reduced somewhat in the second year, and a reasonable sustainable harvest after that. He thought that the novelty of the species and the pent **up** demand for **muskoxen**, as it were, would be exhausted after the first two years. The more conservative **Inupiat** subsistence value system would then kick in to regulate the harvest. **Inupiat** to **all** intents and purposes self-regulate themselves during whaling. **It** may be that a negotiated **self-regulation** (or co-regulation) is the most viable alternative for all parties concerned.

KAKTOVIK SUBSISTENCE RESOURCE HARVEST PATTERNS SITE INVENTORY

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N-939	2-112

Mount Michelson

K-004	2-114
K-005	2-115
K-006	2-117
K-008	2-118
K-011	2-120
K-012	2-121
K-013	2-123
K-014	2-125
K-015	2-127
K-045	2-129
K-059	2-130
K-060	2-131
K-812	2-132
K-813	2-134
K-814	2-135
K-815	2-136
K-816	2-137
K-817	2-138
KA-818	2-139

Mount Michelson (continued)

KA-819	2-140
KA-820	2-141
KA-821	2-143
ISA-822	2-144
KA-823a	2-146
KA-823b	2-147
KA-824	2-148
KA-825	2-149
KA-826	2-150
KA-827	2-151
KA-828	2-152
KA-829	2-153
KA-830	2-154
KA-831	2-155
KA-832	2-156
K-833	2-157

Sagavanirktok

K-052	2-158
K-053	2-160
K-054	2-161
KA-810” s	2-162
KA-811	2-163
N-098	2-164
N-128	2-165
N-133	2-167
N-134	2-168
NA-933	2-169
NA-934	2-170

Site Number: K-016 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island, Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: Uqpillam Paanga

Meaning of Name: Mouth of Uqpilak [a river], without willows.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Uqpillam Paanga is located at the Okpilak River delta, just to the east of the Hulahula River delta, Two TLUI coordinates are listed: 14359'00' 7004'35" and 14428'00"7003'42". The second set may refer to a second site. It is used as a reference for a more generalized use area.

Coordinates: TLUI: 14359'00" 7004'35" Orth:

Site Number in .
other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 20
Pedersen et al. 1985:89
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Camping and hunting, caribou, birds, seals, fish.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: Ruins, bones, sod houses.

Specific Use: Caribou are harvested in this area in the summer. Birds and seals are also taken. The mouth of the Okpilak is also a productive and commonly used fishing site.

History of Use: This was the base area for the exploration of the Okpilak River by Leffingwell and Ned and Edward Gallagher. Several families also lived in the area, including the Areys and Hopsons. Several current Kaktovik residents remember visiting the area (see references cited).

The mouth of the Okpilak and the Hulahula Rivers is also one of the main caribou harvest locations for Kaktovik hunters.

The main harvest in this area is in the summer. Birds **and** seals are also taken in this area. The mouth of the **Okpilak** River is also one of the commonly used and productive summer fishing locations for **Kaktovik** subsistence users.

References:

Jacobson **and** Wentworth 1982:97; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen **et al.** 1985:128; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: K-017 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: **Naalagiaviak**

Meaning of Name: Where you go to listen to whales.

English Name: Arey Island

Other Name(s):

Location: **Naalagiaviak** is located in the middle of Arey Island, about 5 miles west of Barter Island. The NSB **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14354'00"7007'00 and 14354'12" 7007'00.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14354'00 7007'00" **Orth:** 70 07'N 143 54'W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 19
Pedersen et al. 1985:91
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, birds, seals.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: Old graves are located near the bigger lake. Remains of cabins and sod houses are also evident.

Specific Use: Waterfowl **in** late May and early June. Fishing **July** and August - arctic char (**iqalukpik**), arctic **cisco (qaaktaq)**, pink salmon (**amaqtuq**). Fall fishing for **qaaktaq**. Seals in spring and summer."

History of Use: Arey Island is a prehistoric as well as an historic village **site**. Some current **Kaktovik** residents once **lived** on Arey Island, and some were born there. The island was a common site for a local reindeer herd from 1922-1936.

The English name for the island comes from the grandfather of Annie **Soplu**, Ned Arey. Ned Arey was a commercial explorer and whaler in the area.

There are legends and stories associated with this site (see list of references).

The Beaufort Sea side of the eastern segment of Arey Island is one location where **Kaktovik** people normally set nets in the summer.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:97-98**; Jacobson 1979; Jacobson **n.d.**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson **1977a**; Pedersen et al. **1985:129**.

Site Number: K-018 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: **Iglukpaluk**

Meaning of Name: A big house seen from far away.

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Elupak**

Location: **Iglukpaluk** is on the west end of the northern coast of Barter Island, It is about one half mile east of the base of the spit, on the coast which faces north (see historical note for locational problems).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14342'00" 7007'00 **Orth:** 70 08'N 143 42'W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 18
Pedersen et al. 1985:94
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing (summer).

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: **Iglukpaluk** is the last high point of land before the land slopes down to the lakes and spit. Graves and ruins. C. Gordon's house was here until relocated. Two sets of **TLUI** coordinates.

Specific Use: Summer fish: arctic char (**iqalukpak**), arctic cisco (**qaaktaq**), and flounder (**nataagnaq**) by net as well as hook and line.

History of Use: **Iglukpaluk** has an extensive post-Western contact history, as the location was visited by a **large** number of scientific and exploratory expeditions. The name for the site is from the house built by Tom Gordon therein 1923 when he moved there to establish a trading post. Visitors to Tom Gordon's house have provided a number of written descriptive accounts (see references listed).

The **exact** location of the site is actually not clear. The “original” **TLUI** map had it located at the base of the spit on the western side of the north coast of Barter Island (Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:98**). Jacobson and Wentworth then verbally describe the site as being a half mile east of the **place** where the **TLUI** had originally placed it. Their map, however, places it perhaps a quarter mile **short** of where they say it should be (Jacobson and **Wentworth 1982:9**). We have located **it** according to Jacobson and Wentworth’s verbal description. The main subsistence use of the site is for the setting of **gillnets** in summer. These nets are set on the Beaufort Sea side of the spit on the western side of Barter Island (**Iglukpaluk** is near the base of this spit).

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:98-100**; Jacobson 1979; **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Pedersen et al. **1985:129**; Pedersen 1989; Craig **1987:49**; **Hutchinson** 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-019 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: **Tikluk**

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Akootchook House Site**

Other Name(s): **Tiglukm Inaa**

Location: **Tikluk** is located on the southwestern part of Barter Island.

Coordinates: **TLUI: 14343'00" 7006'50 Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI: 45**
Pedersen et al. 1985:101
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: Ruins of cabins and sod houses, bones.

Specific Use:

History of Use: The **Andrew Akootchook family** lived here about 1919-20, when they first moved to Barter Island. They then moved to Arey Island. **Tikluk** was also used as a reindeer herding site. The Beaufort Sea **TLUI** list **Tikluk** as a site where "important events" (unspecified) took **place**.

R e f e r e n c e s : Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:101; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Pedersen** et al. 1985.

Site Number: K-020 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Barter** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Qaaktugvik**

Meaning of Name: Seining place.

English **Name**:

Other Name(s): **Kaktovik** (First Location)

Location: The first historical location of **Kaktovik** was on the northeast part of Barter Island, on the spit where presently the Air Force hanger and runway are placed. It is directly across **from the** westernmost part of Bernard Spit.

Coordinates: **TLUI**: 14336'17" 7007'50" **Orth**:

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI**:
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15
Pedersen et al. 1985:97
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Airstrip, fishing.

Access: Airplane, **truck**, walk.

Site Features: Most of the remains **of** this site have been **dug** up, covered over, or eroded away. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Specific Use: Net fishing on the **Beaufort** Sea side of the spit, sport (rod and reel) fishing off the eastern end of the spit.

History of Use: This was the site of a prehistoric **Inupiat** village. Because the Air Force wished to **construct** an airstrip **in** this location in 1947 the village was moved to a new site about 1650 yards to the west.

Nets are sometimes set in the summer on the **Beaufort** Seaside **of** the spit on the eastern part of Barter Island.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:102**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:49; Nielson **1977a**; Nielson **1977b**.

Site Number: K-021 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: Qaaktugvik

Meaning of Name: Seining place.

English Name:

Other Name(s): Kaktovik (Second Location)

Location: The second historical location of **Kaktovik** is the northeast part of Barter Island, on the north coast where the spit joins the main part of the Island. **The TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates, which appear to be incorrect.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14336'17" 7008'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 16
Pedersen et al. 1985:95
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access: Snowmobile, truck.

Site Features: **TLUI** reports cabin and sod house **ruins**, bones, and graves, as well as a DEW-Line road. It is likely that these features are now difficult to find.

Specific Use: Sport fishing on the Beaufort side of the spit is said to be good in this area.

History of Use: People were relocated to this site in 1947 by the construction of the DEW-Line airstrip and related facilities. In **1953** another relocation, slightly to the west and farther back from the beach, was necessary because of DEW-Line road construction. The distance between the two locations was so small that both were considered to be the same site by Jacobson and WentWorth.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:103; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a; Nielson 1977b.

Site Number: K-022 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: Qaaktugvik

Meaning of Name: Seining place.

English Name:

Other Name(s): Kaktovik (Present Location)

Location: The third historical location of **Kaktovik** is located on the east shore of the Island across the **Kaktovik** Lagoon from the airport. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates. The north coordinates appear to be in error.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14337'00 7008'30 **Orth:** 143 38'W 7008' N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 17
Pedersen et al. 1985:99
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Present site of **Kaktovik**.

Access: Boat, snowmobile,air

Site Features: This is the site of the current village of **Kaktovik**.

Specific Use:

History of Use: The village of **Kaktovik** was moved to this, its present site, in 1964 when the DEW-Line station again expanded. The move was desired by the residents of the village for health and other reasons. It is the starting point for all subsistence activities in the area and is the location of the local office for **ANWR**.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:104-105; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; **Pedersen et al.** 1985:129; Nielson 1977a; Nielson 1977b.

Site Number: K-023 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: Pipsuk

Meaning of Name: Named after **Pipsuk**, the grandson of **Tigutaaq**. Pipsuk reportedly drowned in the lagoon.

English Name:

Other Name(s): Pipsuk Point

Location: Pipsuk is on the northeast part of Barter Island, on the point across from the airport and just southeast of the present village. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14335'45"7007'45" and 14334'00"7007'35"

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14335'45" 70 07' 45" **Orth:** 143 35'45"W700745"N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 14
Pedersen et al. 1985:100
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access: Boat, walking.

Site Features: Old ruins and the grave of **Pipsuk**.

Specific Use: Sport fishing with rod and reel is said to be good from **Pipsuk**.

History of Use: One story says that **Pipsuk**, the grandson of a former longtime resident named Tigutaaq, drowned in the lagoon while fishing from a **qayaq**. His body was recovered with a seining net, from which the name **Qaaktugvik** ("seining place") is derived (**qaaktuq** means to seine for fish, **qaaktaq** is the name for round whitefish). There are also stories related to the grave of Pipsuk (see listed references).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:105; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use **Inventory** 1977; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-024 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: Qikiqtaq

Meaning of Name: Island

English Name: Manning Point

Other Name(s): Drum Island

Location: Qikiqtaq is located just east of Barter Island, between Kaktovik Lagoon and Jago Lagoon. It is connected to the mainland by a narrow spit.

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth: 14330' W, 7007' N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:188
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fish, caribou, birds, camping.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: Many old drums are found in the area.

Specific Use: Mid-May to mid-June for migratory bird hunting, late spring and summer for caribou, summer for fishing.

History of Use: The English name for this site, Drum Island, comes from the many metal drums found in the area. The "island" has historically been the site of caribou drives.

Nets are set on the Jago Lagoon (east) side of the point.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:106-107; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number: K-025 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: Tapkak

Meaning of Name: Spit

English Name: Bernard Spit

Other Name(s):

Location: Bernard Spit is a barrier island just northeast of Barter Island.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 14330' W, 7008' N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:98
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, trapping, **seals**, wood, camping.

Access: Boat, snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: Summer fishing, peaking **in** July and August. Arctic char (**iqalukpik**) earlier and least **cisco (iqalusaaq)** later in the season. There has **been** trapping here in the winter (especially fox).

History of Use: The **Akootchook's** had a house on the western part of Bernard Spit and lived there sporadically **from the mid-1920s** through the **mid-1940s**.

Nets are set on the Jago Lagoon (protected) side of the spit. Sites tend to be reused from year-to-year, but most locations would be productive.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:107; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; **Pedersen** 1989; Craig 1987:47.

Site Number: K-026 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Barter** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Tapqauraq**

Meaning of Name: **Tapqauraq** - little narrow **spit**. **Nuyagiq** after a family who used to live there.

English Name:

Other Name(s): Tapkaurak, Nuyagiq

Location: **Tapqauraq** is how **Kaktovik** people refer to the area to the east of the Jago River **delta**. Tapkaurak Spit extends **from** Martin Point southwest almost to Griffin Point (from the Tapkaurak entrance to the **Oruktalik** entrance).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14301'00" 7005'00" **Orth:** 143 15'30"W7007'50N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 13
Pedersen **et al.** 1985:110
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fish, hunting, birds, eggs, camping.

Access: Boat, snowmobile

Site Features: Ruins of Dan Gordon's old house. Old graves are located on the south side of the lagoon. There are also sod house ruins in the area.

Specific Use: Spring for migratory birds, summer for fish (**qaqtaq** and **igalukpik**). The area apparently best for fish is from the mapped location east to somewhat beyond Griffin Point.

History of Use: **Tapqauraq**, when used by Kaktovik people in the present, is reported to refer to the ruins on **Tapkaurak** Spit, while they refer to the point labeled on the USGS map as **Tapkaurak** Point as **Nuyagiq**. This name derives from a family who used to live there (Mabel **Nuyagiq** and Russell **Kalayuak**). Several trading posts have been located here, especially during the trapping and trading period of the 1930s.

The **Tapkaurak** Spit area is used as a subsistence harvest area for **several** different resources. Net fishing **is concentrated** from the mapped location east to somewhat beyond Griffin Point. Caribou are harvested as they are available all along the spit. Birds are harvested from the coastal side of the lagoon.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:107-108; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Craig 1987:49; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Hutchinson 1937; Klerekoper 1937.

Site Number:	K-027 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:	Uqsruqtalik
Meaning of Name:	Place where there is oil on top of the ground.
English Name:	Griffin Point
Other Name(s):	
Location:	Iqsruqtalik is a point of land comprising the eastern boundary of the Oruktalik Lagoon , about 20 miles east of Barter Island. The TLUI list two sets of coordinates: 14254'00 7004'00" and 14252'00" 700351".
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14254'00 7004'00" Orth: 14254' W 7004' N
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 12 Pedersen et al. 1985:113 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, fishing, camping, - caribou , birds, seal.
Access:	Boat.
Site Features:	A shelter cabin, said to be owned by Fred Gordon , exists on the site. Some old ruins about 1.5 miles from the mouth of the John River are also in the area.
Specific Use:	Primarily used in the summer - caribou and fish for arctic char (iqalukpik) and arctic cisco (qaaktaq) . Waterfowl in August (fall), sometimes seal in summer. This is an important camping area where people will sometimes stay several weeks
History of Use:	Uqsruqtalik was the site of an old village. John Olsen's trading post was here until he moved it to Humphrey Point sometime between 1933 and 1937. Isabel Hutchinson visited Olsen at this location on October 17, 1933. Fred and Dorothy Gordon lived in this area until the 1940s when they moved to Barter Island.

Presently, this is the site of a major summer fish camp which is used **every** year. Several families fish here and will stay for several weeks or longer. This is also a popular area to harvest caribou in the summer. It is also said to be a productive area for the harvest of birds.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:110-111; **Pedersen** and Coiling 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson 1977a; **Hutchinson** 1937.

Site Number: K-028 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: **Pukak**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Pukak** is the area around Pokok Lagoon and Pokok Creek. It is a few miles east of **Uqsruqtalik** (Griffin Point). The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14246'00" 7002'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 11
Pedersen et al. 1985:114
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Birds, hunting, fishing.

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: **Pukak** was the site of an old village (at east end of the lagoon). Historic remains are a sod house ruin (Steve Hopson **Sr.**) and an old store owned by **Paneak**.

Specific Use: **Pukak** is an important spring waterfowl harvest site (**brant**, eider ducks, snow geese). Summer - people fish (arctic char) and hunt caribou. **Ugruk** and seal **are** also hunted in the summer. **Beluga** taken when they appear, but are sporadic.

History of Use: **Pukak** was the site of a camp and village on the east side of the lagoon. The area was also used extensively as an habitation site until the 1930s when people left for Barrow, **Kaktovik**, and **Anaktuvuk** Pass. A sod house ruin associated with Steve Hopson **Sr.** (Barrow, then **Nuiqsut**) and an old store owned by **Paneak** (**Anaktuvuk** Pass) are said to exist in the area. Several Kaktovik families, or their relatives, lived in this area in the past (see listed references).

The area is especially noted for the harvest of birds in the spring. Caribou are available in the summer, as are seal and **ugruk**. Net fishing takes place in the summer, but the area further west around Griffin Point is generally used more for fishing. Informants say that **beluga** sometimes appear in this area and are hunted when they do so. This does not happen very often and is unpredictable.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:110-111; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; **Pedersen** 1989; **Pedersen** 1990; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson 1979; **Hutchinson** 1937.

Site Number: K-056 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name: **Kapillgurak**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Kapillgurak** is located southeast of **Uqsruqtalik** (K-27) on the John River.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 1425200" 7003'20 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 44
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting (caribou), fishing

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: Old habitation ruins are found at **Kapillgurak**.

Specific Use: Informants did not speak to this site in particular, but it is the area where they stressed the availability of caribou in the summer, and the productivity of summer net fishing. Birds may also be available in the spring.

History of Use:

References: **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Pedersen** and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number: **KA-801** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Barter** Island, **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Kaktovik** whaling area

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-801** is located offshore (north) of the **Hulahula** River **delta** and extends east ten to twenty miles beyond the Jago River delta.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort S e a **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fall whaling (also seal and other marine mammals).

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: This is the area used by **Kaktovik** whalers for their fall hunt. They may range as far as thirty miles from the village, **but** generally stay closer, especially to the west.

History of Use: Area **KA-801** is the general Kaktovik whaling area. **Kaktovik** whalers generally go no farther than **about** 15 miles west of Barter Island, and 15 to 30 miles east of Barter Island. The farther they go, the longer the tow after a successful harvest, the more difficult the processing **is** likely to be, and the more likely it is that there will be some spoilage. AU recent **Kaktovik** whales have been taken in this “core” whaling **area**, and most in the region closest to **Kaktovik**. Only a few whales have been taken in the outer margins of this area.

References: **Galginaitis** Field Notes 1990

Site Number: K-804 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)
Inupiat Name:
Meaning of Name:
English Name:
Other Name(s):
Location: Site K-804 is located approximately three miles upstream from the mouth of the **Okpilak** River.
Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**
Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use: Harvest of birds in the spring
Access: Snow machine
Site Features: One side of the river has a high bluff, which is used as the harvest site.
Specific Use: Migratory birds are harvested in this area in the spring.
History of Use:
References: **Galginaitis Field Notes 1990**

Site Number: K-805 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-805 is located southwest of Barter Island on the east coast of Arey **Lagoon**.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Caribou

Access: **Boat**, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Caribou (mostly summer).

History of Use:

References: **Pedersen** and Coffing 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: K-806 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-806 is located at the base of the spit which connects Manning Point to the mainland.

Coordinates: T I M : **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General **Use:** Caribou, fish, birds

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: This is reported to be a regular location for the harvest of caribou, as well as a productive fishing **area**. Nets are set on the **Kaktovik** Lagoon (west side) of the spit. Birds are also harvested in the spring.

History **of** Use:

References: Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and **Pedersen** 1985; **Pedersen** 1989; **Pedersen** 1990; Craig 1987:49.

Site Number: **KA-805** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Barter Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-805** comprises the coast of the **mainland** south of Barter Island from the **Okpilak** River in the west to the Jago River in the east.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Caribou

Access: **Boat**, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Caribou (mainly summer)

History of Use:

References: Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: **KA-807** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Barter** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location Area **KA-807** is located at the **mouth** of the Jago River.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou, **fish**

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: The delta of the Jago River is said to be too shallow to be traveled in the type of boat typically owned in **Kaktovik**.

Specific Use: Caribou are harvested in this area mostly in the summer. Nets for fishing are also set in the summer. The area may not be used for fishing as much as in the past.

History of Use:

References: Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; **Pedersen** 1989; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:48.

Site Number: **KA-808** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Barter Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-808** is located on the coast east of the Jago River. It is centered on Tapkaurak Point (known as Nuyagiq to **Kaktovik** people).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Caribou (mostly summer)

History of Use:

References: **Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985;**
Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: **KA-809** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Barter** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-809** is located on the coast east of Barter Island and extends from Griffin Point to just beyond **Pokok** Lagoon.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Caribou, fish, musk oxen, birds

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Summer fishing, caribou more year-round, musk oxen in spring (March), birds in the spring and **fall**.

History of Use:

References: **Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1989b; Pedersen 1990.**

Site Number: K-046 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name: Tikagaagruk

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Heald Point

Other Name(s):

Location: Tikagaagruk is located on the east side of Prudhoe Bay, apparently on Heald Point, The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: TLUI: 14812'32" 7021'00" Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 35
Pedersen et al. 1985:23
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 23
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting, camping (past)

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: Tikagaagruk is the site of sod house ruins and ice cellars.

Specific Use: No current subsistence activity takes place due to oil development.

History of Use: This is know to be an old habitation site. In the historical period, Andrew Oegna lived here some time in the 1930s. The Akootchooks had an ice cellar here when they lived at Kaniqtua in the 1940s. Current subsistence usage is limited due to oil development in the area.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:83; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number: K-047 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey** Point)

Inupiat Name: **Kisim Inaa**

Meaning of Name:

English **Name**:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Kisim Inaa** is mapped southwest of the **Tigvariak** West Base marker, on the east side of Foggy Island Bay, in accordance with the **TLUI** coordinates given for this site. The **Mid-Beaufort** TLUI maps this site where we have mapped **Qalgusilik**.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14728'00 7011'10 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI: 36**
Pedersen **et al. 1985:** 28
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI: 37**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General **Use**: Hunting, camping.

Access: Boat, snow machine

S i t e F e a t u r e s : This is an old site and presumed to have ruins of some **sort**.

Specific Use: Snow machine access is limited by **oil** development (**Nuiqsut**) and distance (**Kaktovik**). Boat access is restricted by oil activities, although during fall whaling this ocean area is hunted at times.

History of Use: **Kisim Inaa** is known to be an **old** site, but the extent of archaeological remains is unknown. **It** was used in the past as a camping location for the Woods family when they were **living** on the **land**, before relocating into modern **Nuiqsut**. Its current usage would **be** limited to the whaling season (September-October) and perhaps for summer sealing by a limited number of people.

There is some confusion on where this site is precisely located. We have mapped it according to its **TLUI** coordinates. The **Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI** (Smith 1980) places it where we have mapped **Ekoolook Inaat** (again, according to the **TLUI** coordinates given). Please see the historical note for **Ekoolook Inaat** for a discussion of this locational problem.

References:

Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-048 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name: **Kakianaam Inaa**

Meaning of Name: **Kakianaaq's** place.

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Qallinik Inaat**

Location **Kakianaam** Inaa is on the east side of Foggy Island Bay. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14719'30 7011'00" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 37
Pedersen et al. 1985:30
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 38
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Trapping.

Access:

Site Features: There are graves located at **Kakianaam** and perhaps some habitation ruins as well.

Specific Use: This area is reportedly used for trapping. It is also potentially used during fall whaling by **Nuiqsut** hunters, but is **otherwise** difficult to access due to distance and **oil** development.

History of Use: **Kakianamm Inaa** was **Kakianaaq's** a main camp. He is buried here, along with his mother **Aseakotak** and his sister **Qilgiuraq**. The area is used only infrequently at present, mostly during whaling season by people from **Nuiqsut**. It is a **TLUI** site for **Kaktovik** since descendants of some of the people who used to live and **travel** in this area eventually moved to **Kaktovik** when populations consolidated into a few settled villages.

References: **Pedersen et al.** 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:83; Jacobson **n.d.**; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-050 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Pole Island

Other Name(s):

Location Pole Island is the westernmost of the Stockton Island group, almost directly north of Tigvariak Island. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14702'10" 7018'15" **Orth:** 14702' 10"W '7018' 15"N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 38
Pedersen et al. 1985:20
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 18
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Whaling, hunting, fishing, birds.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: There are sod house ruins on Pole Island.

Specific Use: The area is currently used mainly in the fall for whaling. In the past, when people **lived** there or in the **area**, it was used for fishing (**qaaktaq** and **iqaluakpik**) and waterfowl hunting. **Polar** bear have been hunted in this area as **well**.

History of Use: The Stockton Islands were named after Captain **C.H.** Stockton of the U.S. Navy Revenue. Cutter Thetis. Pole Island was probably named by commercial whalers after a pole that was **at** one time erected on the island to serve as a landmark. Pole Island has been a seasonal residence for many **NSB** Elders in the past. The **Koganalooks** had a house there. William **Soplu** and Clay **Kaigelak** Sr. stayed therein the 1920s. **Nannie** Woods stayed there as well. George Woods and the **Ahkivgaks** hunted seal at Pole Island and built a house there. Presently, Pole

Island is used mostly during the fall whaling season or if people are traveling in **the** area anyway.

References:

Pedersen et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:76-77; Jacobson 1979; Jacobson **n.d.**; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-051 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name: **Sikiagruum Inaa**

Meaning of Name: **Sikiagruk's place.**

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Sikiagruum Inaa** is mapped at the mouth of the **Kalugisilik (Kadleroshilik)** River, on Foggy Island Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates. The **Mid-Beaufort** Sea TLUI apparently maps this site incorrectly - see historical note.

Coordinates: **TLUI: 14736'00" 7011'20" Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39
Pedersen et al. 1985:31
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 39
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping, birds.

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Year-round use (in the past). Currently used **mainly in** conjunction with fall whaling due to **oil** development restrictions “and distance from village sites.

History of Use: **Siliagruum Inaa** was one of the old family camps of Harry and Lucy **Sikiagruk**. They were the parents of Eli Solomon's wife. **Sikiagruk** was also a first cousin to Annie **Ologak**.

Qalgusilik, from the Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI, has coordinates **only** slightly different from those of **Sikagruum Inaa**, so that the two may actually be the same site. It is also possible that these are two sites very close together, as this coastal area was extensively used and not **all** such sites have been located on maps.

The **Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI** (Smith 1980) maps this site on the **Shaviovik** River. This **is** almost certainly **incorrect**, as the text says that this site is located “at the mouth of the **Kalugisilik** River” (Smith 1980:83). This suggests that perhaps other sites are dislocated on the **Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI** map as well.

References:

Pedersen et al. 1985:127; **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:83,90-91; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-061 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: “New Site X

Other Name(s):

Location: This site is located on **Mikkelson** Bay, a few miles east of the **Shaviovik** River. It is listed as “New Site X’ in Jacobson nd.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:35
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: There are habitation ruins at this site.

Specific Use:

History of Use:

References: Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al.1985.

Site Number: K-062 (**Located** on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name: Putuligayuk

Meaning of Name:

English Name: “*New* Site Y

Other Name(s):

Location: This site is located on the **Shaviovik** River, about six miles from the mouth. This is “New Site Y in Jacobson **n.d.** The mapped location **is** only very approximate. . This maybe **Pedersen** et al. 1985 site **number 36.**

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:36
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There is at least one grave **at** this site.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Putoligayuk** is buried at this site. Other information is lacking. The mapped location is only approximate.

References: Jacobson 1979; **Pedersen** et al. 1985.

Site Number: K-063 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: “*New* Site Z’

Other Name(s):

Location: This site is located about three miles west of the **Shaviovik** River **delta**, on the east end of Foggy Island Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, camping.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: There are habitation ruins **at** this site, as well as graves. Coal is also scattered around this site.

Specific Use: The area is reportedly used for summer fishing (**iqalukpik** and **qaaktaq**) and as a camping location. Because of distance, it is really only used when traveling in the area for other reasons.

History of Use: **Kaliyoak**, Adam **Alisuarak**’s sister, is buried at this site. Adam **Alisuarak** is a direct ancestor to the majority of current **Kaktovik** residents. The **Ologak** family lived at this site for one year.

References: Jacobson 1979.

Site "Number: K-064 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Leavitt** Island

Other Name(s):

Location: **Leavitt Island** is a barrier island, one of the Jones Island group, about two miles long. It is west of **Pingok** Island.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 14934'N 7034'W

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 2
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: **Whaling, seals.**

Access: Boat.

Site Features: Presumably there are habitation ruins, since people lived on or around **Leavitt** Island in the 1920s. There are graves and numerous whale bones on nearby **Pingok** Island.

Specific Use: The primary focus in this area is fall whaling from **Nuiqsut**. People also seal in the area in the summer.

History of Use: People are reported to have lived on or around **Leavitt** Island in the 1920s.

References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land** Use Inventory 1976;
 Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71;
 Hoffman et al., Appendix F, page 12; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number: K-065 (**Located** on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Bertoncini** Island

Other Name(s):

Location: **Bertoncini** Island is a member of the Jones Island group, just west of **Bodfish** Island. It is about half a mile long and is about 4.5 miles NW of Beechey Point.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 149 17'45"W 7032' 10N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 4
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting, camping, fishing, seals, eggs, whaling.

Access: Boat.

Site Features:

Specific Use: Used in summer and fall: summer mostly for seal and fall for whaling associated activity.

History of Use: **Bertoncini** Island was named by **Leffingwell** after Captain John **Bertoncini** of the whaleship **Jeanette**. This ship transported **Leffingwell** to San Francisco from the Arctic in 1914.

References: Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-066 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey Point**)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Cottle Island**

Other Name(s):

Location **Cottle Island** is a member of the Jones Island group.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 149°07' 15"W 70°30'45"N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 6
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, whaling.

Access: Boat.

Site Features:

Specific Use: Used in the summer and fall: summer for fishing and sealing, fall for activities associated with whaling.

History of Use: **Cottle Island** is named after Captain Steve **Cottle**, a commercial whaler. See also entry for **Kataktugvik**.

References: **Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71;**
 Nielson 1977a; **Jacobson n.d.**

Site Number: K-067 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey** Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Argo Island

Other Name(s):

Location: Argo Island is the easternmost island of the Midway Island group, north of **Prudhoe** Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 148 15'W 70 28'N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 9
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access: Boat.

Site Features:

Specific Use: Summer use.

History of Use: Argo Island was named by **Leffingwell** after his yawl of the same name.

References: **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:71; Nielson 1977a; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number: K-068 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Narwhal Island

Other Name(s):

Location Narwhal Island is the most northern and eastern island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 14728' 50"W 7023' 45"N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:19
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 13
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Whaling, seals.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: Shelter cabins and perhaps some habitation ruins are found on Narwhal Island.

Specific Use: Narwhal **Island** is used as a base for fall whaling for at least two **Nuiqsut** crews. It is also used to hunt for seals **in** spring through fall.

History of Use: Narwhal Island has been used as a base for fall whaling for a long time. Whaling in the current period was resumed **in** the 1970s. **In** 1923 **Nannie Akpik** (later Woods) spent **the** winter with her family at Narwhal Island. From 1934 to 1943 **Clay Kaigelak Sr.**, George **Agiak**, and Mark **Pausanna** hunted seals in the Narwhal **Island** area. Currently Narwhal Island is used primarily for whaling in the fall (at least **two** crews from **Nuiqsut** usually use it as their base camp), but is also used as a camping spot for an occasional extended hunting trip for seals. .

The English name for the island is from the name of Captain **Leavitt's** ship, the Narwhal. The McClure Islands were named by **Leffingwell** after Captain Robert McClure of the Royal Navy, who “discovered the islands in August of 1850. The area has been historically used for hunting seals and polar bears, and was used as a winter habitation site. See listed references for more details.

References:

Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75; Jacobson **n.d.**; Pedersen et al. 1985; Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; **Hoffman** et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-069 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey Point**)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Jeanette** Island

Other Name(s):

Location: Jeanette Island is one of the McClure Island group, about forty one miles east of Beechey Point and north of Foggy Island Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 147 25'W 7022'N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 14
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Whaling, sealing,

Access: Boat.

Site Features:

Specific Use: **Jeanette Island** is in the primary **Nuiqsut** whaling area and is mainly used at that time.

History of Use: **Jeanette** Island was named by Lieutenant Commander **G.W. DeLong**, USN, after his steamship.

References: **Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75;**
Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-070 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Beechey Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: **Karluk Island**

Other Name(s):

Location: **Karluk Island** is the southernmost island of the McClure Island group, north of Foggy Island Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth: 14719' 30'W 7020' 25"N**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 15
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Whale, seal.

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: **Karluk Island** is within the primary whaling area of **Nuiqsut** and is used mainly at that time. **People** also hunt seals in this area.

History of Use: **Karluk Island** was named by **Leffingwell** after the ship of the same name under the command of Captain Steven **Cottle**.

References: **Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1981:75;**
Nielson 1977a; Jacobson **n.d.**

Site Number: N-115 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey Point**)

Inupiat Name: **Tigvagiag** Island

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Tigvariak Island**

Location: **Tigvariak Island** is between **Mikkelsen** and Foggy Island Bays, 23 miles west of **Flaxman Island**. Nielson (1977a) coordinates 7013'15" 14720'55".

Coordinates: **TLUI: 7013'15" 14720'55" Orth: 7013' 15"N 147 12'55"W**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepkuk TLUI: 115**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:29
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 17
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing **area**, **hunting/camping area**, trapping area

Access: **Boat**, snowmobile

Site Features: Sod house ruins, graves including **Kakianak**, **Ekolook's** son and daughter, other **old** graves

Specific Use: In the **past**, the **island** saw year-round use. White fox trapping is said to have been especially good. Current use is sporadic **and** infrequent, due to the distance from both **Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut**. Informants **from** both villages used **Tigvagiag Island** as the current "boundary" between the use areas of the two villages.

History of Use: **Tigvagiag Island** was reported by **Leffingwell** to be **the** site of the annual trading **place** between the Natives of the area and those further **to** the east. This occurred in the winter months.

Tigvagiag Island is an old habitation site, **from** when **people** were more mobile and dispersed over the land. Informants remark that **Tigvagiag** Island was used year-round, and **could** be

relied upon in winter to harbor game when other areas had none. They characterized several of the islands in this are in this way, but singled out Tigvagiag Island in particular. At present, informants say that the village of **Nuiqsut** is located too far away for Tigvagiag Island to be a viable regular harvest site, although the animals are still there. The site is now used on an opportunistic basis, and pretty much marks the cognitive **boundary** between the present-day **Kaktovik** and **Nuiqsut** land use areas. It is the farthest west that **Kaktovik** hunters normally will hunt for caribou, and they prefer to harvest them much closer to the village. **Nuiqsut** hunters only use this area during the fall whaling season. **Kaktovik** whalers, of course, use an area much closer to their village to harvest whales.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 13; **Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:75-76**; Pedersen 1985:126; Nielson 1977a:72.

Site Number: NA-937 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey Point, Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area NA-937 defines the central or core whaling area for **Nuiqsut** crews. See historical note for discussion and qualifications.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fall whaling

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fall whaling for bowhead, some opportunistic harvest of **seal** and other species.

History of Use: The “core **Nuiqsut** whaling area” has been defined on a very pragmatic basis and is a research construct and not an informant category. It **is** based on where the area that **Nuiqsut** crews use as base camps (Cross Island and Narwhal Island) added to the areas where those crews spend the most time cruising (and where **the** majority of their whale sightings **are** reported). This is clearly not the full extent of the area **Nuiqsut** whalers hunt, as the first whale taken **by** a **Nuiqsut** crew, in **1973**, was off the Canning River delta to the east. This “core area” does reflect the present disposition of **Nuiqsut** whalers to “take whales as close to their base camps as they **can**, since the

longer they have to tow a whale, the more likely it is that at least part of the meat will be lost. The distance between the village of **Nuiqsut** and the area it uses to hunt bowhead whales, and the often difficult conditions under which the hunt takes place, makes this even more of a consideration than **in** other whaling villages. The assistance that is available to **Nuiqsut** whalers from oil companies under the Oil/Whalers Agreement also encourages the taking of whales as close to this “core area” as possible.

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number: NA-938 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Beechey Point, Flaxman Island**)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area NA-938 represents the extent of the area **Nuiqsut** informants use for fall whaling -- **the** Midway Islands **in** the west and **Flaxman** Island in the east. See the historical note.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fall whaling

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fall whaling, opportunistic take of **seals** and other species.

History of Use: The boundaries as given are at best flexible, but most **Nuiqsut** village informants agreed upon them. Crews may happen to go beyond the Midway Islands in the west or **Flaxman** Island in the east, but for the most part make efforts not to do so. Whaling further west is evidently not very productive, and to go further east would require too long a tow in the event of a successful crew. The first whale taken by a **Nuiqsut** crew was beyond this eastern limit, and resulted in the spoiling of the meat. There were also logistical and manpower problems, **as** this was in **1973**, the first year that crews whaled from **Nuiqsut**.

References: **Galginaitis Field Notes 1990**

Site Number: K-029 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Imaignauraq**

Meaning of Name: Place of little water.

English Name: Humphrey Point

Other Name(s):

Location: **Imaignauraq** is the west point of land bounding Humphrey Bay (labeled Pokok Bay on the USGS map). **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14231'30 6958'45" and 14230'00" 6958'00.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14234'00 6959'30 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 9
Pedersen et al. 1985:117
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting, fishing, camping.

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: There were old graves located at the mouth of the **Kimikruak** River and five sod house ruins in the area, There is a cabin at the site itself.

Specific Use: The site is used year-round. Caribou are harvested in summer and to some extent in winter. Waterfowl are also harvested. **Ugruk** are hunted in the summer. This is a common camping area.

History of Use: **Imaignauraq** (Humphrey Point) was the site of **John Olsen's** trading post after it was moved from **Uqsruqtalik**. Several Kaktovik families have a long history of using this site, and some have lived there in the past.

Jacobson and Wentworth (1982) report that informants told them about the confusion of names on the USGS maps. See also **Iglugruatchiat** (K-30).

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:111-112; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Klerekoper 1937; Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-030 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Iglugruatchiat**

Meaning of Name: Place of sod houses.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Iglugruatchiat** is the western point of land defining Humphrey Bay. The Bay is labeled Pokok Bay on the USGS map and the point of land is incorrectly **labelled** Humphrey Point (which is actually the east boundary of the bay). Two **TLUI** sites.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14231'30 6958'45" **Orth:** 14231'30 6958'45"

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 10
Pedersen et al. 1985:116
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: **There** were some graves located about 2.5 miles from this site which may have been eroded away

Specific Use:

History of Use: This site is involved in the confusion of names which Jacobson and Wentworth report from informant accounts. See also **Imaignaurak** (K-29).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:112; Pedersen et al. 1985:129; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number: K-031 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Anngun**

Meaning of Name: Oil seep.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Anngun** is a point of land between **Angun** Lagoon and Beaufort **Lagoon**, between the Jago and **Aichilik** Rivers. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14223'00 6956'00" **Orth:** 14223' W 6956' N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 8
 Pedersen et al. 1985:118
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Hunting, fishing

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: **Anngun** is the site of a natural **upwelling** of oil. The old village that was located at this site may have eroded away.

Specific Use:

History of Use: Hudson Stuck noted the presence of an **Inupiat** village at **Anngun**. Some use was made of the oil at this site for fuel by residents of the **area**, but it was not of great everyday utility.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:113**; Pedersen et al. **1985:130**; Beaufort Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson **1977a:66**; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-032 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Nuvagapak**

Meaning of Name: Big point.

English Name:

Other Name(s): Nuvagapak Point

Location: Nuvagapak is a point of land on the southwest shore of Beaufort **Lagoon**, between the VABM site marked on the USGS map and **Anngun**. The **TLUI** coordinates may be somewhat inaccurate, and the label on the USGS map is misplaced.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth: 142 18'W 69 53'N**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:120
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There are some unidentified house ruins at **Anngun**.

Specific Use:

History of Use:

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:113; Pedersen et al.1985:126.

Site Number: K-033 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Atchilik**

Meaning of Name: **Place** with skin tents.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: The **Aichilik** River heads in the Romanzof Mountains at 143 26'W 60 03'N and flows about 75 miles northeast to Beaufort Lagoon at 142 08'W 69 **51'N**. The specific site mapped is located on the west side of the **Aichilik** River delta (near lake).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14326'00" 6903'00 **Orth:** 142 08'W 69 51'N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 7
Pedersen et al. 1985:122
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, camping, trapping.

Access: . Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: There are some **old** sod houses and ruins at this site on the **Aichilik**.

Specific Use: The **Aichilik** River area is used year-round, but not continuously, and on an irregular basis. Fishing for **grayling** in the fall and winter and trapping are the subsistence foci, and few people are reported to currently use the area much.

History of Use: Various **people** have lived in the **Aichilik area**, but the information has not been drawn together and integrated (see references cited). After the population consolidation into Kaktovik, these individuals continued to use this area for a great deal of their subsistence activities. Most of these people have now passed away, and few active hunters use the **Atchilik** drainage as a primary hunting area. The reasons given are

various, but seem to relate to distance, access, and knowledge. Younger hunters simply have not learned this area.

The **TLUI** coordinates given for the **Atchilik** clearly relate to the headwaters of the **Atchilik** while the narrative discussions in the **TLUI** and Jacobson and Wentworth 1982 clearly relate to the delta. We have thus mapped the site in the delta but left the **TLUI** coordinates as they are given in the **TLUI**.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:113; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Hutchinson 1937; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number: K-034 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: Siku

Meaning of Name: Ice

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Siku** is site on Icy Reef, a barrier reef near the delta of the **Kongakut** River. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 141 37'00 6946'00" and 14151'00" 6948'40. The second seems correct from narrative descriptions **of** the site.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14151'00 6948'40 **Orth:** 141 54'W 6949'N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 6
Pedersen et al. 1985:123
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping, trapping.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: The ruins of an old and probably prehistoric site are found at **Siku**. There is also a usable cabin there (possibly more than one).

Specific Use: Summer focus on whitefish (**iqalukpik**) in the delta of the **Kongakut delta**, just south of **Siku**. May be used for geese in spring.

History of Use: Historically, **Siku** was used a camping place and staging area for trips up the **Kongakut** River from fall to spring for hunting sheep and caribou. Small game hunting, trapping, and some fishing were also incorporated into these trips. The people who made these trips lived west of **Kaktovik** for the most part, so since the **establishment** of the modern village this area has not been used by nearly as many people as in the past. Similar resources are located closer to the **village**. Fishing and hunting

in the area is now mostly incorporated into boat trips to and from Canada in the summer. This is still an important part of the **Kaktovik** land use **area**, however, as it is perceived as a sort of “bank” to be used if and when animals can not be found closer to the village. It may still be used as a summer **fishing** location and to hunt caribou along the coast, especially in conjunction with boat trips to the east.

The two sets of **TLUI** coordinates given seem to define the east and west limits of the **Kongakut** River. **Siku** is located off the west delta. Icy Reef extends about 16 miles, from just west of Siku to Demarcation Bay

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:114; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Pedersen 1989a; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-035 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Pinguqsralik**

Meaning of Name: Place where there are **pingos**.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Pinguqsralik** is located on the coast just to the northwest of Demarcation Bay, on the west side of the large creek. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14142'00'6942'00 and 14131'206933'00" (see historical note).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14131'20" 6942'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 5
Pedersen et al. 1985:124
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Trapping, hunting, camping, berries.

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: **Pinguqsralik** is the site of several old graves on top of the **hill**, the remains of reindeer herding activity **in the area**, and several modern cabins.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Pinguqsralik** was inhabited since the turn of the century until **the 1930s**, and was probably used well before that time as **well**. A store was operated at this site **in** the 1920s or 1930s and several Kaktovik families are related to **people** who lived here until at **least** into the late 1930s. This was also reported to be a reindeer herding area.

Neither of the two sets of TLUI coordinates reported for the site make much sense as reported, but if the west coordinates are switched one then locates the site fairly closely. These **are**

the **TLUI** coordinates we have reported above. The meaning of the other set of coordinates is unclear, unless it defines a boundary of the old reindeer use area or the extent of the area on which **pingos** are found. The **TLUI** lists have very little explication on how coordinates were determined or what multiple coordinates for the same site or area mean.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:114-115; **Pedersen** et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; **Hutchinson** 1937; **Klerekoper** 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-036 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Kuvluuraq**

Meaning of Name: A small thumb located in the spit.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location **Kuvluuraq** is located on the end of Icy Reef, **on** the spit on the west side of Demarcation Bay. The **TLUI** gives two sets of coordinates: 14124'30 6943'30" and 14123'00 694250 (see historical note).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14123'00" 6942'50 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 4
 Pedersen et al. 1985:125
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Hunting, camping, fishing.

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: There is a shelter cabin at **Kuvluuraq**.

Specific Use: The literature says that this site is used year-round, with an emphasis on summer fishing (small white fish and arctic char). Currently the site is used mostly during trips to and from Canada.

History of Use: **Kuvluuraq** was one site for reindeer herding in **the Kaktovik** area. There are **also** indications of older habitation and/or use **of** the area. There is a story of a house built on the end of the spit that then became inaccessible. This may explain the two sets of **TLUI** coordinates. One of them corresponds to the very end of the spit, where the narrative descriptions of the site **say that** it should be located. The other corresponds to the next major part of the spit to the west of this, separated from it by

a very thin section of the spit that may not provide access at all times.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:116; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number: K-037 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Manigaaluk**

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Demarcation Bay

Other Name(s): “West” Side

Location: This site is on the west side of Demarcation Bay. It maybe the same site as **Kangigluat** (K-55).

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:132
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There may be graves located at this site, which in any event was where several people lived in the past.

Specific Use:

History of Use: Paul **Kayuatak** used to live **at** this site, and Lawrence **Malegana** had a house here. It maybe the site **of Loren Apayauk’s** grave (he was a reindeer herder).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:116; **Pedersen** et al. 1985.

Site Number: K-038 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Agaguqagauraq**

Meaning of Name: Little old man

English Name: Old Man Store

Other Name(s):

Location: The Old Man Store site is on Demarcation Bay, about 1.5 miles east of the mouth of the Turner River. Jacobson (1979 lists it as “New Site T.”

Coordinates: T L u k Orth:

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:131
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There is a cabin at the Old Man Store site.

Specific Use:

History of Use: Old Man Store was a white man who was known only by that name. This site was where his cabin was located, which was probably built around 1916. Old Man Store may have been a whaler from Herschel Island and died at this location in 1928 or 1929. He evidently operated a store or trading post, After he died, Tommy **Uinniq** Gordon cleaned up the ice house at this site and began to use it as his own.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:117; Jacobson 1979; **Pedersen et al. 1985.**

Site Number: K-039 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Kanighluapiat**

Meaning of Name: The group of people way over at the farthest place (i.e. over towards the Canadian border).

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Kanighluapiat** is located on Demarcation Bay, by the small lake where **Kagiluak** Creek flows into the Bay. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14116'00"6938'00 and 14114'30"6937'40.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14116'00 6938'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 3
Pedersen et al. 1985:129
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting, camping.

Access:

Site Features: **Kanighluapiat** is the site of **old** ruins and a shelter cabin.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Putugook** lived at **Kanighluapiat** until about 1931. The nearby creek is named for him on the USGS map. He was known as a trapper. He eventually moved to Barrow, although his daughter lived in **Kaktovik** for several years before she went to Fairbanks.

The **TLUI** coordinates for this site match the narrative description of the site location in Jacobson and Wentworth 1982. However, the **TLUI** narrative description of the site, and of the features of the site, match those of Old Man Store (K-38). Thus it is likely that the **TLUI** confounded these **two**

sites and that Jacobson and Wentworth 1982 is the more accurate source.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:117; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66.

Site Number: K-040 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Pattaktuk** (spit end)

Meaning of Name: Where the waves splash, hitting again and again.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Pattaktuk** is at the end of the spit on the east side of Demarcation Bay. The **TLUI** list two sets of coordinates: 141 19'05" 6941'01" and 141 17'20" 6938'40. The first accurately locates the end of the spit. The second is unclear,

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14119'05" 6941'01" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 1
Pedersen et al. 1985:126
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: Ruins from early twentieth century habitation and seasonal use as well as from earlier time periods.

Specific Use: **Pattakuk** is used as a summer fishing and hunting site, mostly on trips to and from Canada when it is used as a place to camp and rest. It is also remarked upon as a good harvest location for spotted seals (desired for their pelts).

History of Use: The **Pattaktuk** area has been used at least seasonally for a long period of time. In the early twentieth century current residents of **Kaktovik** lived there. This is also evidently the area where Tom Gordon established his trading post in 1917, before moving it to **Iglupaluk, K-18**, in 1923 (according to the **TLUI**). See listed references for more information.

References:

Jacobson and **Wentworth** 1982:117; Pedersen et al. 1985:130; **Pedersen 1989a**; **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson 1979; Nielson 1977a; **Hutchinson** 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-041 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Pattaktuk** (mainland)

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Gordon

Other Name(s):

Location: **Pattaktuk** (mainland) is located at the base of the spit on the east side of Demarcation Bay. The TLUI lists two sets of nearly identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14112'00 6940'00 **Orth:** 141 12'W 6940'N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 2
Pedersen et al. 1985:127
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access: Boat.

Site Features: There are some old ruins at this site, **but** much has been lost due to erosion and gravel removal. There is also an abandoned DEW-Line station at this site.

Specific Use: Used for summer fishing and caribou hunting on trips **to** and from Canada. Also be used for waterfowl hunting. Said to be too far from **Kaktovik** to be used as a primary harvest location, so is used mostly to camp and rest during travel.

History of Use: Tom Gordon established a trading post in the area (at the end of the spit, K-40, according to the **TLUI**) in 1917 with the aid of his brother-in-law Andrew **Akootchook**. Three years **later** the **Akootchooks** moved to **Kaktovik**. In 1923 the Gordons moved to Barter Island and Tom Gordon started the trading post at **Iglupaluk** (K-18). Other families lived **here** during the 1920s and 1930s as **well**. **Tommy Uinniq** Gordon lived in the area until 1943, when he moved to Herschel Island. He

eventually moved to Barter **Island** in 1953. Many of the buildings at this site have fallen into the sea.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982; **Pedersen** et al. 1985:130; **Pedersen** 1989a; **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:66; Jacobson 1979; **Hutchinson** 1937; Stuck 1920.

Site Number: K-055 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name: **Kangigluat**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Kangigluat** is located on the west side of Demarcation Bay. It may be the same site as Demarcation Bay, West Side (K-37).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14127'00 6940'20" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 43
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 32
Ed Hall (NSB): .

General Use: Fishing, trapping, nesting birds, seals, roots, berries.

Access: Boat, snowmobile.

Site Features: **Kangigluat** is the site of habitation ruins.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Kangigluat** was used as a habitation site in the past. At present, it is used mainly during trips to and from Canada, mostly in the summertime by boat.

References: **Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a:83.**

Site Number: K-834 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-834 is located on a barrier island off **Egaksrak** Lagoon.

Coordinates: **TLUI: *Orth***

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Spotted seal

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: This site is noted for the availability of spotted seals, desired for their pelts. Other seals are usually harvested closer to K a k t o v i k .

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-835** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Are **KA-835** is located along the upper Jago River, after it enters the **Romanzof** Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Sheep

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Sheep - area used by fewer hunters than the **Hulahula**, but those few hunters use it on a regular basis.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-836 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site and Area K-836 are located on the upper part of the **Aichilik** River, where it enters the **Romanzof** Mountains. Site K-836 is the base camp for the surrounding area.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Base camp for sheep and furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Sheep - this area is used by fewer hunters than the **Hulahula** River **area**, but is used on a regular basis by those few. Furbearers - area not well defined by informants but seems to be southeast of the base camp.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-837 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location Area ISA-837 is located along the **Aichilik** River within **KA-836**.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985.”
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fishing - frequency of use of this site is uncertain. Reported as a place where people wintered (**and** fished) in **the** past.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-838** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-838** is located on the upper part of the **Kongakut** River, where it enters the mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fish

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fish - frequency of use of the site uncertain.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-839 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-839 is located on **Okpirourak** Creek.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed **Hall** (NSB):

General **Use:** Base Camp

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Site K-839 is used as a base camp. The area between the **Okpilik** and **Jago** Rivers is said **to be** very good for ptarmigan for a short period in the spring. **At** this time, camping trips are made to get out of the village and harvest them.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-840** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-849** is located around VABM 1273 Bitty and is the highest elevation in the immediate **area**.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Spotting location

Access: Snow machine, air craft

Site Features:

Specific Use: Informants report that the **USF&WS** maybe using this location as a spotting place and by their presence may be diverting caribou away **from** their normal migration routes. This would then explain the absence of caribou on the **coast** in summer.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-841** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-841** is an imaginary line extended out from around **Nuvagapak** Lagoon.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: whaling

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: This imaginary line is said to be the effective limit to the **Kaktovik** fall whaling range in the east.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes, NSB map information.

Site Number: **KA-842** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-842** is essentially a boundary located just before the Aichilik River.

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: One informant stated that his range for caribou essentially stops at the **Aichilik** River, and that this is typical for **Kaktovik**. A few hunters do range farther east. Coastal caribou are regularly harvested farther east from boats.

History of Use:

References: Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-843** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area K-843 is located on the **east** side of the **Aichilik** River and encompasses the lowlands before the mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: “
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Caribou are reported to be less predictable in this area than they are west of the **Aichilik** River (another reason fewer hunters use this area).

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-844** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area K-844 is located on the Kongakut River and the area around it (see historical note).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Past hunting, recreation (see historical note)

Access: Snow machine,. air craft

Site Features:

Specific Use: Used in the past by **Inupiat** living on the land, now more often used by **non-Inupiat recreationalists** (according to Kaktovik informants).

History of Use: In the past, when there were still **Inupiat** living on the land east of **Kaktovik**, this area was a primary subsistence harvest location. One hunter especially (now deceased) is remembered as a great **traveller**, often making a big loop through the area via the Kongakut, **Aichilik**, and Jago River courses by dogteam. Since his recent death few Kaktovik hunters have used the area east of the **Aichilik** River.

Non-Inupiat recreationalists have been noticed in the Kongakut River area, however, as it is a very popular river for rafting. **Hikers** also use the mountains around the river extensively.

Some **Kaktovik** hunters believe that this may be affecting the behavior of some of the animals they hunt (especially caribou).

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number: K-001 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Tigutaaq**

Meaning of Name: Name of a famous man who had a house at this site

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Tigutaakm Inaa** (Tigutaaq's place), **Tammaiyagiam Paana** (mouth of **Tamayariak** - **Tamayariak** meaning where you go to lose something)

Location: Site located in the Canning River delta, by the **Tamayariak** River where it joins the Canning. The mapped location is **uncertain**, as the coordinates given and the verbal description do not match (but are in the same general area).

Coordinates: **TLUI: 14534'00" 7004'05" Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 48
 Pedersen et al. 1985:54
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping

Access:

Site Features: Sod house ruins, bones.

Specific Use: Summer fish camp for **Kaktovik** hunters (broad white fish, char, **grayling**) and also a good area for summer caribou.

History of Use: **Tigutaaq** is named for a famous man who had a house at this site. Although the site is known to both **Nuiqsut** and **Kaktovik** hunters, it is only used on a regular basis by **Kaktovik** people (because of relative **proximity**). The mapped **site is a** productive fishing **area**, while the more general delta area for about eight miles upstream is good for summer caribou hunting. This is about the extent to which the river is navigable in both cases. Although it is some distance from **Kaktovik**, most hunters reported using it on a regular basis (at least until

recently, when caribou do not seem to remain on the coast for very long - see discussion in text). This has been a very productive site, over time, for both fish and caribou.

References:

Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Wentworth and Jacobson 1982:89; Pedersen and Coffing 1984; Coffing and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: K-002 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: Kayutak

Meaning of Name: Name of a family that lived at this site

English Name:

Other Name(s):

L o c a t i o n : **Kayutak** is located on the coast near the Canning (**Kuugruaq**) River **delta**, about 2 or 3 miles west of **Kanginniivik**. It's exact location is not **known**, so the map location is only approximate. It is listed as "New Site (W)" in Jacobson **n.d.**

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:55
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access: Boat, snowmobile

Site Features: Ruins of an old house, a large log half-buried in the sand, and several large rocks.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Kayutak** is named after the family which lived in the house, Paul and Mae Suapak Kayutak.

References: Jacobson and **Wentworth** 1982:90; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen et al . 1985:127.

Site Number: K-003 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Kanginniivik** Point

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Konganevik** Point

Location: Point of land extending northeast into Camden Bay, about 21 miles southeast of **Flaxman Island**, on the west side of Camden Bay. The **TLUI** gives two sets of coordinates: 14510'30 70 01'30 and 14512'00" 7001'30.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14510'30" **7001'30"** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 23
Pedersen et al. 1985:56
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping

A c c e s s : Boat, snowmobile

Site Features: Graves, sod house ruins, and cabins. Cabins are -on the tip of the spit as well as on the mainland near the **small** spit.

Specific Use: Caribou are hunted in this area in the summer, fall, and winter by Kaktovik hunters. Konganevik is also a productive fishing location in the summer. It is historically and in recent years a very productive subsistence harvest site.

History of Use: **Kanginniivik** was historically the site of caribou drives. Caribou were herded onto the point and their escape by land blocked. The area was and remains an important winter camping site.

There is also a story told of a group of Eskimos who were trapped on the spit **by** a group of Indians who guarded the narrow land escape route. The Eskimos lived by hunting seals

and fishing, while the Indians eventually ran out of food and left.

Kanginniivik is said to be one of the most reliable harvest areas for caribou in the Kaktovik land use **area**, although recently caribou have only stayed on the coast in the summer for a short time. Thus, although hunters have used this area less than in the past, this is related to the level of resources available to be harvested and can be expected to increase when the caribou are once again more abundant in that area in the summer, **Kanginniivik** may still be a reliable area to harvest caribou in the winter and it is about a day's trip to do so, which makes this a popular and feasible trip for most hunters in Kaktovik.

People also say that there is good fishing at **Kanginniivik**. They are usually referring to fishing with nets in the summer. The general pattern seems to be that many hunters take a net with them in their boat. When they reach the area that they intend to hunt (in this case **Kanginniivik**) they put the net out and then go look for caribou. Thus, even in the event that they take no caribou they can usually expect to not go home "empty."

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90; Jacobson 1979; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al, 1985: 126; Pedersen 1990; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory.

Site Number: K-007 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Aanalaaq**

Meaning of Name: At the head of the bay.

English Name: Anderson Point

Other Name(s):

Location: Anderson Point is just to the east of Camden Bay, between the bay and the mouth of the **Sadlerochit** River. The area referred to as **Anaalaaq** extends from Anderson Point about two miles to the southwest to Koganak.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 144°28'30" 70°00'50" **Orth:** 144° 27'45"W, 70°01' 30"N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 22
 Pedersen et al. 1985:61
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting, camping, berries

Access: Boat, snowmobile

Site Features: This is an area of relatively **higher** elevation than the surroundings. Graves are found here.

Specific Use: Important spring waterfowl hunting area. Also reported to be good for berries. Used as a **basecamp** for hunting trips into the mountains.

History of Use: The **Ologak** family lived and herded reindeer in the **Aanalaaq** area, near the cabin of John **Koganalook** on the spit called **Koganak**. John **Koganalook's** son, Levi **Griest**, says that they moved there in the early 1920s. Levi had a **trapline** in the area which extended west of the **Kadleroshilik** River. Several other current **Kaktovik** residents remember living in the area in the past, and at least one was born there (see references cited).

The English name was given to the point in 1914 by **Leffingwell** and was named after Dr. Rudolph Martin Anderson of the Canadian Arctic Expedition who had given **Leffingwell** assistance. The **Inupiat** name Koganak is derived from the name of John **Koganalook**.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:93; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory; Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number: K-009 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Sanniqaaluk**

Meaning of Name: The place where there are cabins built of logs all running in the same direction.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Sanniqaaluk** is located at the mouth of **Kajutakrok Creek**, on the east side between the **Sadlerochit** and Hula Hula Rivers. NSB **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 1441700 7002'20" and 14408'10 700220".

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14417'00' 7002'20 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 21
Pedersen **et al.** 1985:62
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUK
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting, camping, nesting birds, seals, roots, wood.

Access: Boat

Site Features: Ruins of a cabin and sod houses are evident.

Specific Use: Used as a camping spot while hunting caribou (summer) and for geese (spring). **The** prime goose hunting area is **3** miles east.

History of Use: The sod ruins at this site are said to **be** associated with the **Ologak, Itchuagak, Patkotak, and Kayutak** families. **Phillip Tikluk** Sr. was born at this site (01/25/37).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:94**; Pedersen **et al.** **1985:128**.

Site Number: K-O1O (**Located** on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: Patkotak

Meaning of Name: Named for Paul Patkotak family, which had a house there.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Patkotak is located at the mouth of the Nataroaruk River, between the Sadlerochit and **Hulahula** Rivers. Patkotak is either very close to Ahsogeakm Inaa or the two are actually different names for the same site.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:63
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features:

Specific Use:

History of Use: Paul Patkotak and his family had a house in this location.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:95; Pedersen et al. 1985:128.

Site Number: K-042 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Agliguagrak**

Meaning of Name: Big jawbone.

English Name: Brownlow Point

Other Name(s):

Location: **Agliguagrak** is a point of land between Camden Bay and Lion Bay. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14550'00'7010'00" and 14550'00 7008'10.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14550'00 7010'00" **Orth:** 145 51'W 70 10'N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 24
 Pedersen et al. 1985:51
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 46
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting, camping, fishing, trapping.

Access: Boat, snowmobile,

Site Features: **Agliguagrak** is the site of graves, as well as for old ruins. There was also an old trading post there.

Specific Use: **Agliguagrak** is a good summer caribou hunting location. People also seal in the area. The area is used year-round, however, and **people** do hunt caribou here in the fall and winter and will fish in the summer. Historical trapping area.

History of Use: **Agliguagrak** was the site of one of Jack Smith's trading posts, and was run by Henry Chamberlain. Quite a few people lived here prior to the concentration of population in **Kaktovik**. Known graves include those of Susie **Nasook**, Shorty **Anupkana**, Josephine **Itta's** mother, and Ben **Akootchook** Sr. There are more graves about 1.5 miles south of the **Agliguarak** delta.

Hunters remarked that they made "combination" trips to this area in the summer by boat. By this they meant that they

would fish, hunt caribou and seal (and whatever else made itself available), and camp out **as** a break from life in **Kaktovik**. Shorter, more intensively harvest-oriented trips are also made to the **area**, of course.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:87-89; Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson n.d.; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:78; Hutchinson 1937; Klerekoper 1937.

Site Number: K-043 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Point Hopson

Other Name(s):

Location: Point Hopson is located about seven miles west of **Flaxman** Island and about two miles west of Point Sweeney. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14630'45" 7011'25" and 14632'00" **7011'00"**.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14630'45" 7011'25" **Orth:** 14630'45"W 70 11'25"N

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 25
Pedersen et al. 1985:44
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 44
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: “ There are sod house ruins at Point **Hopson**.

Specific Use:

History of Use: Point Hopson is the site of Fred Hopson's old cabin. **Qunguatchiaq** and Wilson **Soplu** lived here at times between 1900 and the 1950s.

References: **Pedersen** et al. 1985:126; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84.

Site Number: K-044 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Point Gordon

Other Name(s):

Location: Point Gordon is a point of land six miles east of **Bullen** Point and ten miles west of **Flaxman** Island. The **TLUI** lists two sets of coordinates: 14637'30" 7011' 10" and 14636'40" 7010' 30.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14637'30" 7011'10" **Orth:** 146 37'30"W 7011' 10"N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 26
Pedersen et al. 1985:43
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 43
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There are graves at Point Gordon.

Specific Use:

History of Use: Point Gordon is named after the trader, Tom Gordon. Why this particular place was chosen is not known. The Panningona's trapline at times ran as far as Point Gordon from **Flaxman** Island.

References: **Pedersen et al. 1985:127**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84.

Site Number: K-057 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Kingmayukm Inaa**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Kingmayukm Inaa** is located east of the **Hulahula** River delta.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14407'40 7002'30 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 46
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access:

Site Features: **Kingmayukm Inaa** was an old habitation site and ruins are found there.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Kingmayukm** is known to be an old site, but specific information is lacking.

References: Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number: K-058 (**Located** on USGS 1:250,000 Map:**Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Ahsogeakm Inaa**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Ahsogeakm Inaa** is located on **Nataroarok Creek**, somewhat inland. **Ahsogeakm Inaa** is very close to **Patkotak**, or else the two are different names for the same site.

Coordinates: **TLUI: 14410'00" 7001'40 Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 47
 Pedersen et al. 1985:63
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access:

Site Features: There are old habitation ruins at **Ahsogeakm Inaa**.

Specific Use:

History of Use: **Ahsogeakm** is presumed to be an old habitation site, but more specific information is lacking.

References: **Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Pedersen** et al. 1985.

Site Number: K-071 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Qikitaq**

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Belvedere **Island**

Other Name(s):

Location: Belvedere Island is a member of the Stockton Island group, about seventeen miles northwest of **Flaxman** Island.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth: 146 54'45"W 70 17'30N**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 19
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing, birds, seals.

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: Reported to be important for seal hunting, salmon fishing, and bird hunting. Currently it may be used for seal hunting on occasion.

History of Use: This island was named after Captain **Cottle's** whaling ship, the Belvedere.

References: Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use **Inventory 1981:77;** Jacobson 1979.

Site Number: KA-802 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Offshore, middle of Camden Bay

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fall whaling

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: This is the extreme western limit of Kaktovik whaling. To go any further would present logistical problems that present Kaktovik residents prefer to avoid.

History of Use:

References: Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number: **KA-803** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location **Area KA-803** is east of **Bullen** Point (N-117).

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Summer caribou hunting, camping

Access: - Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: Summer caribou hunting

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** Field Notes 1990

Site Number: N-117 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name: **Savagvik**

Meaning of Name: Working place

English Name: **Bullen Point**

Other Name(s):

Location: **Savagvik** is the east point of **Mikkelson Bay**. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'10' 14652'00".

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 7011'10 14652'00 **Orth:** 7011' 10"N 146 52'00"W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**117
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:117
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing area, hunting (caribou)

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: Sod house ruins.

Specific Use: Little specific recent use was noted. **Savagvik** is in the **Kaktovik** summer coastal caribou harvest land use **area**, and winter harvest of caribou was reported for when the informant worked at the DEW-Line station that was located here.

History of Use: English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7,1826.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977a:84; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number: N-118 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Qikiqtaq**

Meaning of Name: Big Island

English Name: **Flaxman Island**

Other Name(s): Sidrak - foxhole, **Kugruak** - also the name of the Canning River, Sirak

Location: **Flaxman** Island is about three miles off-shore from the Stakes River delta between Point Thompson and Brownlow Point. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'15" 14652'00".

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 7011'15" 14603'14" **Orth:** 70 11'N 146 03"W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:** 118
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 42
Pedersen et al. 1985:150
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 20
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Whale, trapping, hunting/camping, birds, seals, caribou

Access: Boat, snowmobile

Site Features: Shelter **cabin**, sod house ruins, fall whaling base camp.

Specific Use: Fall whaling, summer caribou. Birds. Year-round use.

History of Use: The English name for this island was given by Sir John Franklin on August 6, 1826, in honor of the (then) recently deceased English sculptor John **Flaxman**. **Flaxman** Island has been reported as the site of traditional trade fairs. A trading post was operated at Brownlow Point by Henry Chamberlain in the 1920s. The island was used as a habitation site year-round, and has been used seasonally as well. See the **listed** references for further information.

Inupiat whalers have used **Flaxman** Island as a base in the past, and commercial whalers sometimes overwintered in this location. **More** recently, a whaling crew out of **Nuiqsut** in 1973

struck a whale off the east fork of the Canning River and towed it to **Flaxman** Island for butchering. These activities have since been moved to Cross Island and Nuiqsut whalers try to take whales more to the west when possible. **Flaxman** Island is about as far east as they wish to go to whale at present.

Both Nuiqsut and Kaktovik hunters have taken caribou on **Flaxman** Island, but all say that this is farther than they prefer to go. If animals are available at a closer site, they will be hunted there. **Flaxman** Island is hunted when there are no animals within closer range.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:77-78; Nielson 1977a:72; Pedersen et al. 1985:131; Libbey 1980:9,11; Jacobson n.d.

Site Number: N-119 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Point Thompson

Other Name(s):

Location: Point Thompson is the point of land at west entrance to Lion Bay, 2.5 miles southwest of **Flaxman** Island. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 7011'15" 14619'45".

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 7011'15" 14619'45" **Orth:** 7011' 15"N 146 19'45"W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:** 119
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: 45
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: Sod houses (**Otuayuk, Kunaknana, Kunutchiak**).

Specific Use: No specific focus given. This is on the margins of both **Nuiqsut's** and **Kaktovik's** land use areas. **Kaktovik** boaters tend to go east of **Kaktovik**, and **Nuiqsut** boaters tend not to go this far.

History of Use: English name was given by Sir John Franklin on August 7, 1826. Documented as a winter habitation site in the 1920s.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 14; **Mid-Beaufort Sea** Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Nielson 1977a:72.

Site Number: N-129 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name: **Ikpikpauraq**

Meaning of Name: Little bank [bluff]

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Ikpikgauraq**

Location: **Ikpikpaurak** is mapped about 3 miles east of **Bullen** Point, in accordance with the Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI** (Smith 1980). Nielson 1977a and Pedersen et al. 1985 place it at Point Sweeney, about 8 miles further east.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI: NA-11**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:45
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI: 42**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use:

Access:

Site Features: There used to be ruins of sod houses at **Ikpigauraq**. It is not clear that these ruins still exist. A sod house at **Kunuatchiak**, 1 mile away, is said to be still standing.

Specific Use: **Ikpikpauraq** is primarily a **TLUI** site, as no informant reported specific use of the site for current harvest activities. This is not to say that it is never used for subsistence activities.

History of Use:

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **Traditional** Land Use Inventory 1976; **Hoffman** et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; Mid-Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:84; Pedersen et al. 1985:127.

Site Number: N-939 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Flaxman Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: This site is the approximate location where the first whale taken by a **Nuiqsut** whaling crew (1973) was first struck.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fall whaling

Access: Boat

Site Features:

Specific Use: Bowhead whale harvest site

History of Use: **The Nuiqsut** whaling captain in command of the crew which took this whale is understandably proud of the accomplishment. While maintaining a due show of modesty, he also (with strong apparent justification) claims that it was his success with this **whale** which established **Nuiqsut** as a whaling village. **He** went out whaling **alone** (with his single crew) from 1972 to 1979 or 1980. During the end of this period the IWC ban on subsistence whaling, the formation of the **AEWC**, and the implementation of a quota system all occurred in short order. These events underscored for most **Inupiat** the need to protect whaling as a fundamentally important aspect of their lives. Without this historical pattern of hunting and a successful take, **Nuiqsut would** have had no record of previous whaling experience and so **would** have probably not been considered a

whaling village. **Aboriginally, Nuiqsut** was an inland community and a delta fishing and gathering locality. Whaling was not a focus at that time. Current **Nuiqsut** whalers gained their experience in other coastal communities, and there are currently about seven active **Nuiqsut** whaling crews.

It is interesting to compare **Nuiqsut** to Point Lay, which until the 1930s was a whaling community. Because there have been no active whaling crews in Point Lay since the 1930s, Point Lay has no quota and is not considered a whaling village.

This whaling captain reports that he had no real idea of what would await him when he went out in 1972. He remarks that he was the only one “crazy enough” to go out at that time, but that he is glad that he did. The Elders certainly had a great deal of knowledge about the fall whaling of the **past**, and this was one area that had been used in the past. No one had whaled in this area since about 1940, however, so he had little explicit guidance. He reports that he and his crew were just looking around, but that they had all their whaling equipment with them in the boat. A whale appeared before the **boat** just off the barrier islands, in an area so shallow that the **whale** brought up sand when it sounded. The captain shot the **darting** gun and the harpoon was attached to the whale. **It** came up again and he shot it with the shoulder **gun**, and the whale died. The captain speaks as if the whale gave itself to **him**, and certainly if it had not died quickly it would have been difficult for one boat to finish off a wounded whale.

There were only five of them in the boat, and it took quite a while to tow the whale. to **Flaxman** Island, where they butchered it. Since the meat was spoiling and they had only one **boat**, they butchered for **muktuk** only, and cut most of the fat off of that. It took them two days to return to **Nuiqsut** with a boat load, after which they returned to **Flaxman Island** accompanied by two other boats which helped transport the rest of the **muktuk** to **Nuiqsut**. **Nuiqsut** next took a whale in 1982. Prior to 1982, most **Nuiqsut** residents who wanted to whale went spring whaling in one of the other coastal villages.

References:

Galginaitis Field Notes 1990

Site Number:	K-004 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Katakturak
Meaning of Name:	Named after Katakturak River; " Kataktu " means you can see a long way.
English Name:	
Other Name(s):	
Location	This site is located on the west side of the Katakturak River, about six miles south of the coast, and is listed as "new site (V)" in Jacobson 1979. The mapped location is approximate.
Coordinates:	TLUI: Orth:
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: Pedersen et al. 1985: Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Grave of movie maker Charlie Kimrod .
Specific Use:	Informants did not talk about this specific site, but indicated that this is a region where one can usually find muskoxen . The southern boundary of this area was not defined, but muskoxen are said to follow the river course south.
History of Use:	Charlie Kimrod, an early movie maker, is buried at Katakturak . He was caught in a storm while returning from a sheep hunt and froze to death. His body was found by two reindeer herders (Apayauk and Wilson) who buried Kimrod at this spot.
References:	Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:90 ; Jacobson 1979.

Site Number:	K-005 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name:	Nuvugaq
Meaning of Name:	A point of land that juts out into the ocean.
English Name:	Point Collinson
Other Name(s):	POW "D" (referring more to the general area rather than this specific site, as the DEW-Line station was located more at the base of the spit).
Location:	Nuvugaq is a point of land between Simpson Cove and Camden Bay, just west of March Creek. The TLUI lists two sets of coordinates: 14454'00" 6959'30 and 14452'00" 6958'25" (see historical note).
Coordinates:	TLUI: 14454'00" 6959'30" Orth: 69 59'30N 14454' 00W
Site Number in other References:	Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI: Beaufort Sea TLUI: 32 Pedersen et al. 1985:59 Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI: Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use:	Hunting, caribou, fish, birds, seals, trapping
Access:	Boat, snowmobile
Site Features:	Old village site.
Specific Use:	Nuvugaq important for waterfowl hunting (May, early June - brant , pintail and oldsquaw ducks), Seals and ugruk . Summer fishing. Caribou throughout the year. Western boundary for whaling. Arctic fox trapped in winter.
History of Use:	The historical documentation for Nuvugaq is extensive. The English name for the spit, Point Collinson , is from Captain Richard Collinson of H.M.S. Enterprise. He explored the coast in 1851 and 1853-54. When Ejner Mikkelsen visited the site in 1908 he found a very large number of abandoned houses and formed the conclusion that there was once a large village at this site (see cited references). There was a trading post here for

a time and **Inupiat** families lived in the area sporadically in the 1920s and 1930s. A DEW-Line site was built herein the 1950s but has been decommissioned and abandoned.

The first of the two **TLUI** coordinates seems to refer to the very end of the **spit**, and the second to the base. It is unclear where the historical structures were located, but it is possible that these references are to the end of the spit. **The DEW-Line** was built at the base of the spit, referred to by the second set of coordinates.

This site is in an area much used for the harvest of subsistence resources. Caribou and fish are the two most frequently **taken**, but birds (in season) are also noted as especially available in the area.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:91; Nielson 1977a:38; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987:48; **Stefansson** 1913; **Mikkelsen** 1909.

Site Number: K-006 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Kunagrak**

Meaning of Name: The site is named after a family who **lived** there at one time.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Kunagrak is located on the east side of the mouth of Marsh **Creek**, on Camden Bay. It is used as a working marker for the base of the spit that extends into Camden Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou, fish, birds.

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Caribou are usually available in this area year-round, Net fishing is productive in the summer. Birds are seasonally abundant.

History of Use: **Kunagrak** was used as a trapping cabin by a number of different people. This site is used as a marker for the base of the spit that extends into Camden Bay. This spit is a very popular harvest site for a number of different resources (caribou, fish, birds).

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:92; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990.

Site Number: K-008 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Salligutchich**

Meaning of Name: Farthest north mountains.

English Name: **Saderochit Springs**

Other Name(s):

Location: **Salligutchich** is a spring on the west bank of the **Sadlerochit** River, about 12 miles east of Mount Weller and 25 miles north of Mount Michelson.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:** 14424 W, 6940' N

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:162
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Caribou, camping, fishing.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: **Salligutchich** is used primarily in the winter/spring (snow) camping area for accessing other sites (apparently for caribou) and for fishing for **grayling (sulukpaugaq)**.

History of Use: **Salligutchich** was an area where **Kaktovik** reindeer herders brought their herds for calving. They would arrive in March, the first calves would be born in April, and they would return to the coast in June (see references cited).

This site is located in an area reliably productive for caribou. The hot springs in the area are reported by informants to be about 52 degrees Fahrenheit, which they consider too cold for their use.

References:

Jacobson and **Wentworth** 1982:92; Pedersen and **Coffing** 1984;
Coffing and Pedersen 1985; **Pedersen** et al. 1985:131; **Pedersen**
1990.

Site Number: K-011 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Sivvugaq**

Meaning of Name: Long high bluff

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Sivvugaq** is located on the **Hulahula** River about ten miles upstream from the coast. Other rivers (the **Sadlerochit**, **Okpilak**, and **Kongakut**) have a place with this name as well. NSB **TLUI** lists two sites with identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14403'00" 6957'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 27
Pedersen et al. 1985:64
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Stopover **place**, camping.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features: Relatively high elevation. There are unidentified ruins at this site.

Specific Use: Used primarily in fall, winter, and spring as a place to rest on snowmobile trips.

History of Use: **Sivvugaq** is where the main trail from **Kaktovik** joins the **Hulahula** River. The bluff provides some protection **from the** wind and provides a **place** to rest on trips to and from the mountains.

References: Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:95; Pedersen et al.1985:128; Beaufort Sea traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-012 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: Sallitchit Iqaluitch

Meaning of Name: Most northerly fish hole

English Name: First Fish Hole

Other Name(s):

Location: The First Fish Hole is on the **Hulahula** River, about 20 miles inland. The NSB **TLUI** lists two sites with identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14415'02" 6945'00" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 28
Pedersen et al. 1985:65
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing; stopover, camping, caribou, (**muskoxen**).

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: Important fall, winter, spring fishing site - whitefish (**iqalukpak**), **grayling (sulukpaugaq)**, pike. White fronted geese gather here in the fall. Can be used as a base camp for hunting but more important as a stopover (see historical note).

History of Use: The First Fish Hole has been used since at least 1920 by the current population of Kaktovik. Some people remember meeting the Presbyterian minister Fred **Klerekoper** in this area.

The First Fish Hole can be very productive for fishing (mainly jigging), but informants say that its location at the beginning of the foothills means that it can still be fairly windy at this location. Hunting is done around the First Fish Hole, but informants say that they do not usually use it as a base camp in the same way that they use sites further up the river. First

Fish Hole is usually more of a stopover or resting place during trips the object of which is to harvest caribou, sheep, or furbearers. First Fish Hole may be the objective of a trip mainly oriented toward fishing, with opportunistic hunting as a secondary consideration. Caribou are commonly found in the area and muskoxen are reported to frequent the **Hulahula** River course south of a point somewhat north of First Fish Hole. Informants did not define the southern boundary of this range any more precisely than this because the muskoxen have not yet established a stable range and also because the restrictions imposed on the hunting of muskoxen severely limit the number taken by village hunters. Thus, their current **knowledge** is more of where muskoxen are known **to** be rather than where they are actually harvested.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth **1982:12**; Jacobson **n.d.**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; **Pedersen** and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen et al. 1985; Pedersen **1989a**; Pedersen **1989b**; **Pedersen** 1990; Craig 1987.

Site Number: K-013 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Igaluniagvik**

Meaning of Name: Place to catch fish

English Name: Second Fish Hole

Other Name(s): **Agviguraq** (little whale), **Niksiksugvik** (place of fish hooking)

Location: The Second Fish Hole is on the **Hulahula** River, about 40 miles inland and just south of the Old Woman and Old Man Creeks. The NSB **TLUI** lists two sites with identical coordinates.

C o o r d i n a t e s : **TLUI:** 14423' 10 6929' 20" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 29
Pedersen et al. 1985:81
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing; camping and hunting; **sheep**, caribou.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fish are the primary focus from fall through spring. Arctic char (**iqalukpik**) and **grayling (sulukpaugaq)** predominate. Also important as a staging camp for caribou, sheep, small game, and furbearers from fall through spring.

History of Use: Historical use of the Second Fish Hole is documented from the 1920s (see references cited), Most of this information is too specific to be reproduced here.

Second Fish Hole is clearly one of the most used sites in the Kaktovik land use area. There are several Native Allotment claims located in the immediate area.

References:

Jacobson and **Wentworth 1982:96**; Jacobson **n.d.**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen and **Coffing 1984**; **Coffing** and **Pedersen 1985**; Pedersen et al. 1985; **Pedersen 1989a**; Pedersen 1990; Craig **1987**.

Site Number: K-014 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: Katak

Meaning of Name: To fall down or fall off.

English Name: Third Fish Hole

Other Name(s):

Location: The Third Fish Hole is on the upper reaches of the **Hulahula** River, about 55 miles **upstream**, a few miles south of **Kolotuk** Creek. The NSB **TLUI** lists two sites with identical coordinates. **Pedersen** et al. 1985 use the name "**Katak**" for the site they number as 79.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14435'30" 6916'20" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 30
Pedersen et al. 1985:78
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**): ‘

General Use: Fishing; camping and hunting,

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features: The remains of a house that belonged to Fred Gordon are at Third Fish Hole.

Specific Use: Fishing in fall, winter, and spring - **least cisco (iqalupak)**, dolly varden, arctic **grayling (sulukpaugak)** and arctic char (**iqalukpik**). Staging camping area for sheep and caribou hunting. Access can be limited by snow or river overflow.

History of Use: Several hunters remarked on the Productiveness of the area around this site, but that there were also problems of access to the site. Evidently there are frequent overflows in the area between Second Fish Hole and Third Fish Hole, which informants relate to the existence of hot springs in the area rather than to seasonal melting. Above Second Fish Hole the river channel narrows and the sides become more rocky, which

combined with a generally more sparse snow cover, makes going around the overflows more difficult than it would be farther downstream. This is reflected in the area informants reported for caribou hunting, which has its southern boundary near this site. Note that this area represents not the total area where **Kaktovik** hunters harvest caribou, but only the more limited area where they report they have done so recently and most often. Also note that the sheep harvest area (**which** has the same qualifications) is centered on the Third Fish Hole site. Caribou are harvested more often than sheep, and are more common and more available closer to the village. It thus appears that if sheep are the specific object of a hunt that Third Fish Hole is accessible (either due to timing or motivation). If caribou will do, Third Fish Hole is oftentimes too far or too much trouble.

Third Fish Hole is used as a fishing site, but only in conjunction with other activities.

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982; Jacobson **n.d.**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Craig **1987:47-48**; **Pedersen** and **Coffing** 1984; **Coffing** and Pedersen 1985; Pedersen **et al.** 1985; Pedersen 1989a; Pedersen 1990; Craig 1987.

Site Number: K-015 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Kangich**

Meaning of Name: Sources of the river.

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Kangi**

Location: **Kangich** is located at the headwaters of the **Hulahula** River, about 70 to 75 miles inland. The NSB **TLUI** lists two sites with identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14435'00 6902'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 31
 Pedersen et al. 1985:76
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Camping and hunting.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: **Kangich** has been a major winter base camp for sheep hunting for **Kaktovik** residents. As with Katak (Third Fish **Hole**) there can be access problems and there are other good base camp locations. It is also relatively distant from the village.

History of Use: During the 1930s the **Agiak** family lived at **Kangich** sporadically during the winter. This is a well-known location and is used on a regular basis. It is, however, farther from the village than other available base camps and given the increasing time constraints that many village hunters are facing it appears that camp locations closer to the village are used more frequently. Still, not all active hunters have full-time wage jobs and there are hunters who choose to travel longer distances to hunt, so **Kangich** must be considered one of the main base camp areas,

References:

Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:97; Jacobson n.d.; Beaufort Sea
Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Mid-Beaufort Sea
Traditional Land Use Inventory 1980:96; Pedersen et al.
1985:128.

Site Number: K-045 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Igniq**

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s): **Ignik Valley**

Location: **Igniq** is to the west of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains, The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14604'00" 6936'30 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 33
Pedersen et al. 1985:50
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use:

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: The **TLUI** says that this is considered a natural **landmark**, because the area was constantly on fire. It is **no** longer on fire.

Specific Use: **Uncertain**, but **Igniq** is in an area where people commonly hunt furbearers (usually camping to do so) and is near the portion of the Canning River where **Kaktovik** people say there are many moose. Few hunters harvest moose, however.

History of Use:

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977.

Site Number: K-059 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)
Inupiat Name: Ikaluliruak
Meaning of Name:
English Name:
Other Name(s):
Location: Ikaluliruak is located on the eastern portion of Camden Bay.
Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14442'00" 6958'00" **Orth:**
Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 49
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (NSB):
General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.
Access: Boat, snow machine
Site Features: There are habitation ruins at Ikaluiruak and the **TLUI** lists it as an old site.
Specific Use: Caribou, especially in the winter. Fishing at Carter Creek (western part of the **larger** area).
History of Use: Although Ikaluliruak is listed as an old site with ruins, more specific information is not available. The area informants say is good for caribou is from Carter Creek in the west to about 14430' W, 7000' N. Carter Creek is reported in the literature to be good for fishing.
References: Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Jacobson and Wentworth 1982:92.

Site Number: K-060 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name: **Paqta**

Meaning of Name: Let's go meet someone coming

English Name: Fish Hole 4

Other Name(s): **Paaqta**

Location: **Paqta** is located on the **Hulahula** River where it is joined by Patuk Creek (east and west).

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14436'00" 6910'00" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 50
Pedersen et al. 1985:77
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting.

Access: Snowmobile.

Site Features:

Specific Use: Used in the fall, winter, and spring - primarily as a base for sheep hunting and for fishing (**iqaluapak**, dolly **vardeen**, **sulukpaugak**, and **iqalukpik**. Caribou are a secondary focus.

History of Use: **Paqta** is not known as "Fish Hole Four" to a large portion of the community, many of whom deny that there is a fourth fish hole. It is listed on the **TLUI** and discussed in the literature and is included on that basis. It lies within the area used by **Kaktovik** residents as their primary sheep and ice fishing area, although it is located far enough up in the mountains that travel to this site can often be a problem. Fishing only occurs at this location as a secondary activity to sheep hunting.

References: Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Pedersen et al. 1985.

Site Number: K-812 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson, Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site (and area) K-812 is located west of the Canning River. The specific site is located at an airstrip left from oil exploration. It is very **likely** that other regular camping locations exist in this **area**, but the boundaries are so indefinite and the use so flexible they were not identified. The dotted boundary line is based upon very approximate information.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: Air strip left from oil exploration and drilling activity.

Specific Use: **Kaktovik** residents use this general area to hunt for furbearers on an irregular basis. One informant stated that he would like to see if there were some drums of gas left near the air strip at K-812 that he **could** use to hunt the area.

History of Use: This area west of the Canning River seems to be a secondary area for the hunting of furbearers for **Kaktovik**. This is mainly because of distance and the amount of gas needed to reach the **area**, hunt successfully, and then return **to Kaktovik**. This was made clear by the hope of one informant that he might find some drums of gas there left from the oil exploration and

drilling activities that he could salvage to use for his hunting activities in this area. This was not an unusual practice in the late 1960s and 1970s, but is now not very common as most of the gas caches have been used up.

It was clear that at times furbearer hunters traveled all the way to the **Sagavanirktok** River, and perhaps beyond it. Consistent information in this regard was difficult to **obtain**, so very little can be said with any confidence about the frequency and range of hunters in the pursuit of furbearers west of the 147 degree line.

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-813 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-813 is a base camp site on the Canning River almost due west of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains. Area K-813 extends from about 6 miles downstream from this site to about 18-20 miles upstream **from** the site.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Moose, furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: River course has good moose habitat, area to the west is open country with no mountains (big foothills) that is good for furbearers. The same base camp **is** used for both.

Specific Use: Moose are hunted in the Canning River area by those few **Kaktovik** hunters who harvest moose. The area is considered somewhat far from **Kaktovik**.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-814 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-814 is located on the northwestern edge of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Base camp

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Base camp for caribou, sheep.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-815 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-815 is located on the **Sadlerochit** River about 8 miles upstream (south) of **Sadlerochit** Spring.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Base camp for hunting caribou (and perhaps **muskoxen**).

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Used as a base camp for the surrounding **area**, which is good for caribou and **muskoxen**.

History of Use: **At** present, this site is much more significant for caribou than for **muskoxen**, since the harvest of **muskoxen** is so limited. There may be a limited amount of fishing at this site, but **it** has not been well documented.

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-816 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-816 is located north of the **Kikiktat** Mountains and south of the eastern portion of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
· Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Base camp

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: Centrally located in relation to prime hunting areas for several species.

Specific Use: Base camp for sheep, caribou, moose. Hunters often leave tents pitched here in the spring and **fall**, which are then used by whomever is at the site.

History of Use: Informants explicitly state that this site is used as a base camp because of its central location in relation **to** the harvest of a number of different species, its ease of access, and its desirable features as a camp site. While individual informants may talk about it as “their” main base camp site, it is clear that this is not a proprietary **claim**, but **merely** a statement that they tend to go there more than anywhere else.

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-817 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name: Lake **Schrader**

Other Name(s):

Location: Site K-817 is located on Lake **Schrader** and was chosen rather arbitrarily. This is the approximate location of the Native Allotment claims of Mildred and Isaac **Akootchook**. 'The entire lake is used for fishing and harvesting caribou.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Fish, caribou

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Entire lake can be used for fishing - some net fishing in limited open water but **mostly** jigging. Land surrounding lake good for caribou.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-818** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-818** is located on the Canning River, west of the **Shublik** Mountains, where **Nanook** Creek enters the river. It is a stretch of the river **about** 3 miles long.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Jigging for fish. The frequency of use of this site is not known.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-819** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-819** is located on the Canning River, where Cache Creek and Eagle Creek enter. It extends for about **5** or 6 miles.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fish

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Jigging for fish. The frequency of use of this site is not known.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis 1990 field notes.**

Site Number: **KA-820** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area KA-820 is composed mostly of the valley and lowlands between the **Sadlerochit** and **Shublik** Mountains, **plus** the pass in the Sadlerochit Mountains formed by the Katakturuk River and some of the area north of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Hunting furbearers - caribou as the need arises and chance provides,

History of Use: Most informants say that this area is used mainly to hunt for furbearers after an adequate supply of meat (sheep, caribou) has been laid in. The party leaves from Second Fish Hole and travels to the base camp at K-813 on the Canning (or one close to it on the eastern side of the Canning). They can then return the same way, between the **Sadlerochit** and **Shublik** Mountains, or go north a bit and return on the northern side of the **Sadlerochit** Mountains. From here they can take the **Katakturuk** River south back through the **Sadlerochit** Mountains to the trail back to Second Fish Hole. north to the coast and eventually **Kaktovik**, or continue along the

Sadlerochit Mountains back to the **Hulahula** River around First Fish Hole (K-12) or further north at K-11. Most informants seemed to regard this as an enjoyable activity, but one that had lower priority than the hunting of meat for consumption. It is **certainly** a more costly activity than hunting for meat, because of the amount of gas used and wear-and-tear imposed on the machines.

References:

Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-821** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount **Michelson**, **Flaxman** Island)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area K-A-821 is located east of the Canning River, near the coast.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Muskoxen

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Muskoxen are reported to frequent this area. Only very limited harvesting is allowed, so this is mainly observational information and not based upon harvest activities.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-822 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of **Name:**

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-822** is located west of the **Katakturuk** River, along the coast of the western part of Camden Bay. It is actually a continuation of K-3, **Kanginniivik**.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Caribou (especially in winter).

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: This area is reported to have been very productive for caribou in the past, especially in winter when other areas were not as reliable. Recently, informants have reported that there have not been many caribou here (see historical note).

History of Use: Informants are almost unanimous in reporting that this area is not **nearly** as reliably productive as it has been in the recent past. Most cite several possible causes. The **influx** of government-sponsored biological researchers is usually the first. They are said to follow animals around and thus **harass** them, and the many air flights flown for observational reasons and logistical support are said to chase the animals away. Caribou are also said not to like **muskoxen** and the recent increase in the introduced **muskoxen** population, and their apparent adoption of this area as a year-round territory, is said to have

caused the caribou to stay there only for a very short, seasonal, period of time. Some informants may say that hikers and river rafters also have an influence, but do not really draw a causal link except to say that perhaps they change the path of the caribou migration so that they never reach this area.

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-823a (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-823** is located along the eastern shore of Camden Bay, **and includes** sites **K-6 and K-59**. It is south of KA-005/6 (the spit), but may well be meant to include that as well.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Muskoxen

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Muskoxen are said to frequent this area. Informants did not remark on their driving the caribou away from this area so much, but it is mainly a summer caribou harvest location. The harvest of **muskoxen** is still severely restricted.

History of Use: Informants say that the **muskoxen** resident in this area travel between the coast and the **Sadlerochit River (KA-823b)**. They are not often found in the area in **between**, as they seem to prefer the coast or the river course.

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-823b (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-823b** is located along the **Sadlerochit** River, once it reaches the **Sadlerochit** Mountains, and an area southeast of this point.

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Muskoxen

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Muskoxen are reported to frequent this area. At least one muskox has been harvested in this area recently (by permit - in March). Several caribou were also harvested on this trip and were said to be abundantly available.

History of Use: Informants report that the **muskoxen** in this area travel between here and the coast along Camden Bay and are resident in the area. They are not often found in the area in **between**, apparently preferring the coast and the river course.

References: Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-824 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area K-824 is located along the **Sadlerochit** River before it reaches the **Sadlerochit** Mountains. Its southern boundary was not defined by informants, but probably it joins with **KA-823b** to **form** one larger area.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General Use: Muskoxen

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Muskoxen are observed **to** frequent the **Sadlerochit** River course. They are hunted only on a limited basis because of severe permit restrictions.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-825** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-825** is located along **Itkilyariak** Creek from just before it enters the **Sadlerochit** Mountains to its headwaters and beyond to the **Shublik** Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: . Sheep

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Sheep are the primary focus in this **area**, although it does overlap with caribou, **muskoxen**, and furbearers, since **all** are mobile animals and can be found in the same general areas. Sheep tend to be at higher elevations.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-826** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-826** is a small area located just south of **KA-825**. It is apparently a very localized and productive area for sheep for one informant.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General **Use:** Sheep

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific **Use:** Sheep (mainly fall)

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-827** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-827** is located along **Kaviak** Creek and the upper **Sadlerochit** River.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: **Moose**

Access: **Snow machine**

Site Features:

Specific Use: “ This area is reported to be good moose hunting territory, but few **Kaktovik** hunters harvest moose. If someone does want a moose, this is one of the areas he would **look**.

History of use:

References: **Galginaitis 1990 field notes.**

Site Number: **KA-828** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-828** is includes the streams south and west of Schrader Lake, as well as the lower land north of the lake.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Sheep, caribou

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: The focus of this circumscribed area is sheep, although caribou are also common in the area. **The lake is also** used for ice fishing.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: KA-829 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area KA-829 encompasses the lower land around Second Fish Hole (K-013) and the **Hulahula** River upstream from that point (and its tributaries).

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Sheep, caribou

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: This is the most frequently used sheep area for the hunters of Kaktovik. Caribou are also frequently harvested in the northern part of this range.

History of Use:

References: Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-830** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson, Demarcation Point)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-830** is located along the upper part of the **Okpilik** River, where it enters the Romanzof Mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Sheep

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Sheep - some people say the area would **also** be good for moose, but few hunters are interested in moose.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis 1990 field notes.**

Site Number: **KA-831** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area KA-831 is located west of Second Fish Hole.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: . Moose (also caribou, sheep)

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Moose are said to be abundant in this **area**, but few hunters harvest moose. Caribou and sheep are also available in this area.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** 1990 field notes.

Site Number: **KA-832** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **KA-832** is a large region along the **Hulahula** River from a point below First Fish Hole to Third Fish **Hole**, including most of the lower land east of the **Hulahula** up to the mountains.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Caribou (also sheep, moose)

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: This is one of the main caribou harvest regions for **Kaktovik** hunters. Until recently, most caribou were taken **in** the summer near the coast. In the past few years, however, a greater proportion have been taken inland during fall-spring.

History of Use:

References: **Galginitis** 1990 field notes; **Pedersen** and **Coffing** 1984; Coiling and Pedersen 1985; **Pedersen** et al. 1985; **Pedersen** 1990.

Site Number: K-833 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Mount Michelson)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Suplu's Camp is located on the Sadlerochit River about 4 miles upstream from K-815.

Coordinates: TLUI: Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Base camp for caribou, muskoxen, sheep

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Base camp for caribou especially. Also used for muskoxen when hunters have the permits, and for sheep if they are accessible.

History of Use:

References: Galginaitis 1990 field notes.

Site Number: K-052 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Imialat**

Meaning of Name: Without water.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location **Imialat** is located near the source of **Gilead Creek**, which flows into the **Ivishak** River. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates. The **TLUI** map placement of the site is inconsistent with the coordinates given. We used the latter.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14738'29" 6912'10" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:** 40
Pedersen et al. 1985:42
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed **Hall (NSB):**

General **Use:** Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features: Graves are located at **Imialat** and people presumably lived there at least seasonally in the **past**.

Specific Use: The literature reports fishing for **iqalusaak** (least **cisco**), **titaalik** (**burbot/lingcod**), **sulukpaugaq** (arctic **grayling**), **iqalukpik** (lake trout), as well as hunting, **mainly** for furbearers. Used in winter and spring. See historical note.

History of Use: **Imialut** was used in the past, presumably as at least a seasonal habitation site since people are know to have been born there and others are buried there. It is currently used as a place to camp while hunting for forbearers. While taking a break from looking for forbearers people **will** fish. Because of its distance from **Kaktovik**, people only use this area infrequently.

The **TLUI** map and Nielson 1977a place this site further to the west than the given coordinates would indicate. **We** have located it in accordance with the coordinates given.

References: **Pedersen et al. 1985:127**; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-053 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Ninngulit**

Meaning of Name: Place with cottonwood trees.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Ninngulit** is located near the source of an unlabeled tributary of the **Ivishak** River, south of **Gilead** Creek. The **TLUI** lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 14744'30 6907'20 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 41
 Pedersen et al. 1985:41
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing, hunting, camping.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features: Graves and presumably some habitation ruins are found at **Ninngulit**.

Specific Use: **Ninngulit** is used in the **fall**, winter and spring. The primary foci are hunting for furbearers and fishing for **iqaluksaak** (least cisco), **titaalik** (burbot/lingcod), **sulukpaugaq** (arctic grayling), and **iqalukpik** (lake trout). **Siilsinik**.

History of Use: Henry **Nasanik** and his family lived in this area until 1938 or so. **Nauyak**, **Nashanik's** mother, is buried here. The current use of this site is almost identical to that of **Imialat** (K-52).

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: K-054 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: Silqsinniq

Meaning of Name: Water seepage.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Silqsinniq is located on the Sagavanirktok River, north of the Lupine River. The TLUI lists two sets of identical coordinates.

Coordinates: TLUI: 14843'00" 6912'40" Orth:

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:
Beaufort Sea TLUI: 42
Pedersen et al. 1985:40
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing.

Access: Snowmobile

Site Features:

Specific Use: Silqsinniq is reported as a fall, winter, and spring fishing location. Species caught are iqaluksaak (least cisco), saviunak (round whitefish), tittaalik (burbot/lingcod), sulukpaugaq (arctic grayling), and iqalukpik (lake trout). Little documented recent use.

History of Use: This area was used mostly when people lived in a dispersed throughout the North Slope. Few people make the long trip to this area, since good fishing sites are available much closer to their communities of residence.

References: Pedersen et al. 1985:127; Beaufort Sea Traditional Land Use Inventory 1977; Nielson 1977a.

Site Number: **KA-810** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area KA-810 is located on a tributary of the **Kadleroshilik** River.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshkepuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing (mainly in the past)

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Fishing for big arctic char and **grayling** with eggs, in May. Information is from **Kaktovik** informants, so it can be assumed that **Nuiqsut** people do not use this **area**.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis Field Notes 1990**

Site Number: **KA-811** (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area KA-811 is a region northeast of where the **Ivishak** River joins the **Sagavanirktok** River.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Area KA-811 is used **by Kaktovik** hunters for the pursuit of furbearers. It is used only for extended trips (at least 3 or 4 days), but regular base camps were not pointed out.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** Field Notes 1990

Site Number: N-098 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Qaviarat**

Meaning of Name: Place of the fine sand

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Qaviarat** is located on the **Ivishak** River. Nielson (1977a) coordinates are 6017'52" 14808'48".

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 6917'52 14808'48" **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:** 98
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort S e a TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Trapping area

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: Graves.

Specific Use: Winter and spring in the **past**, not currently used **by** Nuiqsut residents due to distance and **oil** development. **Little** apparent recent use by **Kaktovik** residents as well.

History of Use:

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976; Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 12; **Mid-Beaufort** Sea Traditional Land Use **Inventory** 1980; Nielson 1977a:71.

Site Number: N-128 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Siiqsiniq**

Meaning of Name: Water seepage

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Siliqsiniq** is located on or near the **Shaviovik** River. **Nuiqsut** people no longer use this area. **Kaktovik** people include this area in their extended range.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** 6946'40 14743'00 **Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:** AN-10
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Fishing **area**, furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features: Ruins/sod house. There may be a spring nearby, as the **TLUI** lists the comment that there is bubbling water, with no ice, at this location.

Specific Use: No current subsistence use **from Nuiqsut**, due to oil development and the consolidation of population into settled villages. Old fishing site for **Kaktovik** people, may not have been used recently. Area is used for hunting furbearers.

History of Use: Several informants in **Kaktovik** remembered their parents fishing in this area. Currently, the area is mainly used for the hunting of furbearers. It seems to be too far from **Kaktovik** to **justify** its use as a fishing site. People from **Nuiqsut** evidently do not use this area because **it** is difficult to get to because of oil development and distance.

References:

Nuiqsut/Teshkpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976;
Hoffman et al. 1978, Appendix F, page 17; **Pedersen** et al.
1985:127.

Site Number: N-133 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Qaquqtugruat**

Meaning of Name: Hilly area where you look out every direction

English Name: Franklin Bluffs

Other Name(s):

Location: **Qaquqtugruat** is located on the east bank of the **Sagavanirktok** River, about 30 miles south of **Prudhoe** Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth: 69 48'N 14840'W**

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI: AN-15**
 Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Trapping **area**, hunting/camping area

Access: Boat, snow machine

Site Features: High area, used in the past as a lookout position.

Specific Use: **Qaquqtugruat** is primarily a **TLUI** site, as oil development precludes its current use for subsistence hunting. **Kaktovik** hunters may still use it as a lookout point as they do use the area close to this to hunt **furbearers**.

History of Use:

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number: N-134 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map: Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name: **Ivisaam Paanga**

Meaning of Name: Mouth of **Ivisaaq (Ivishak)** River.

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: **Ivisaam Paana** is located where the **Ivishak** River joins the **Sagavanirktok** River, about 55 miles south of Prudhoe Bay. The **TLUI** lists no coordinates, which were taken from Orth's entry for the **Ivishak** River.

Coordinates: **TLUI:** **Orth:** 6930'N 14830'W

Site Number in other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:** AN-16
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
 Mid-Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Fishing **area**, trapping **area**, hunting/camping area

Access: Boat, snow machine.

Site Features: . Willow houses to be found here

Specific Use: **Nuiqsut** residents report that this site used to be good for year-round fishing and caribou hunting. Oil development now precludes this use. It lies just beyond the boundaries of the area **Kaktovik** informants say they use to hunt furbearers.

History of Use: Cora **Nashaknik** Simmonds was born at **Ivisaam Paana**. Frank Long Jr. (of **Nuiqsut**) lived at this site for a year with his family when he was young.

References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk Traditional Land Use Inventory 1976.

Site Number: NA-933 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area NA-933 is southeast of **Nuiqsut** and pretty much south of Prudhoe Bay.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in other References: **Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
 Ed Hall (**NSB**):

General Use: Hunting furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Area NA-933 was reported as a furbearer harvest area for 1989 for **Nuiqsut** hunters - 7 wolves in one trip. Trip was 4 days long and used 140 + gallons of gas. Wolves were feeding on caribou.

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis Field Notes 1990**

Site Number: NA-934 (Located on USGS 1:250,000 Map:Sagavanirktok)

Inupiat Name:

Meaning of Name:

English Name:

Other Name(s):

Location: Area **NA-934** is a continuation of area NA-931 from the **Umiat** map. The boundary is much more uncertain than for the **Umiat** area. **Nuiqsut** informants placed no real limits and they may indeed approach close to **Kaktovik** in search of forbearers.

Coordinates: **TLUI: Orth:**

Site Number in
other References: Nuiqsut/Teshekpuk **TLUI:**
Beaufort Sea **TLUI:**
Pedersen et al. 1985:
Mid-Beaufort Sea TLUI:
Ed Hall (NSB):

General Use: Hunting furbearers

Access: Snow machine

Site Features:

Specific Use: Hunting of furbearers - **wolf, wolverine.**

History of Use:

References: **Galginaitis** Field Notes 1990

Numerical List of Sites

K-001	.....	2-89
K-002	.....	2-91
K-003	.....	2-92
K-004	.....	2-114
K-005	.....	2-115
K-006	.....	2-117
K-007	.....	2-94
K-008	.....	2-118
K-009	.....	2-96
K-010	.....	2-97
K-011	.....	2-120
K-012	.....	2-121
K-013	.....	2-123
K-014	.....	2-125
K-015	.....	2-127
K-016	.....	2-1
K-017	.....	2-3
K-018	.....	2-5
K-019	.....	2-7
K-020	.....	2-8
K-021	.....	2-10
K-022	.....	2-12
K-023	.....	2-13
K-024	.....	2-14
K-025	.....	2-15
K-026	.....	2-16
K-027	.....	2-18
K-028	.....	2-20
K-029	.....	2-55
K-030	.....	2-57
K-031	.....	2-58
K-032	.....	2-59
K-033	.....	2-60
K-034	.....	2-62
K-035	.....	2-64
K-036	.....	2-66
K-037	.....	2-68
K-038	.....	2-69
K-039	.....	2-70
K-040	.....	2-72
K-041	.....	2-74

Numerical List of Sites (continued)

K-042	.....	2-98
K-043	.....	2-100
K-044	.....	2-101
K-045	.....	2-129
K-046	.....	2-31
K-047	.....	2-32
K-048	.....	2-34
K-050	.....	2-35
K-051	.....	2-37
K-052	.....	2-158
K-053	.....	2-160
K-054	.....	2-161
K-055	.....	2-76
K-056	.....	2-22
K-057	.....	2-102
K-058	.....	2-103
K-059	.....	2-130
K-060	.....	2-131
K-061	.....	2-39
K-062	.....	2-40
K-063	.....	2-41
K-064	.....	2-42
K-065	.....	2-43
K-066	.....	2-44
K-067	.....	2-45
K-068	.....	2-46
K-069	.....	2-48
K-070	..... S	2-48
K-071	.....	2-104
KA-801	.....	2-23
KA-802	.....	2-105
KA-803	.....	2-106
K-804	.....	2-24
K-805	.....	2-25
K-806	.....	2-26
“ KA-805	.....	2-27
KA-807	.....	2-28
KA-808	.....	2-29
KA-809	.....	2'-30
KA-810	.....	2-162
KA-811	.....	2-163
K-8122	.....	2-132

Numerical List of Sites (continued)

K-8132	2-134
K-8142	2-135
K-8152	2-136
K-8162	2-137
K-8172	2-138
KA-818	2-139
KA-819	2-140
KA-820	2-141
KA-821	2-143
KA-822	2-144
KA-823a	2-146
KA-823b	2-147
KA-824	2-148
KA-825	2-149
KA-826	2-150
KA-827	2-151
KA-828	2-152
KA-829	2-153
KA-830	2-154
KA-831	2-155
KA-832	2-156
K-833	2-157
K-834	2-77
KA-835	2-78
K-836	2-79
KA-837	2-80
KA-838	2-81
K-839	2-82
KA-840	2-83
KA-841	2-84
KA-842	2-85
KA-843	2-86
KA-844	2-87
IN-098	2-164
N-115	2-50
N-117	2-107
N-118	2-108
N-119	2-110
N-128	2-165
N-129	2-111
N-133	2-167
N-134	2-168

Numerical List of Sites (continued)

NA-933	2-169
NA-934	2-170
NA-937	2-52
NA-938	2-53
N-939	2-112

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APPENDIX A

This appendix consists of ten maps depicting the areas used for certain subsistence activities in the study area. Each map is dedicated to a single species with information displayed on a regional basis. As discussed in the preface, this mode of presentation was a result of compromises between the data to be presented and the limitations of the map desired (8.5" by 11", in black and white). It was not possible to produce similar point site maps, due to time and budget constraints.

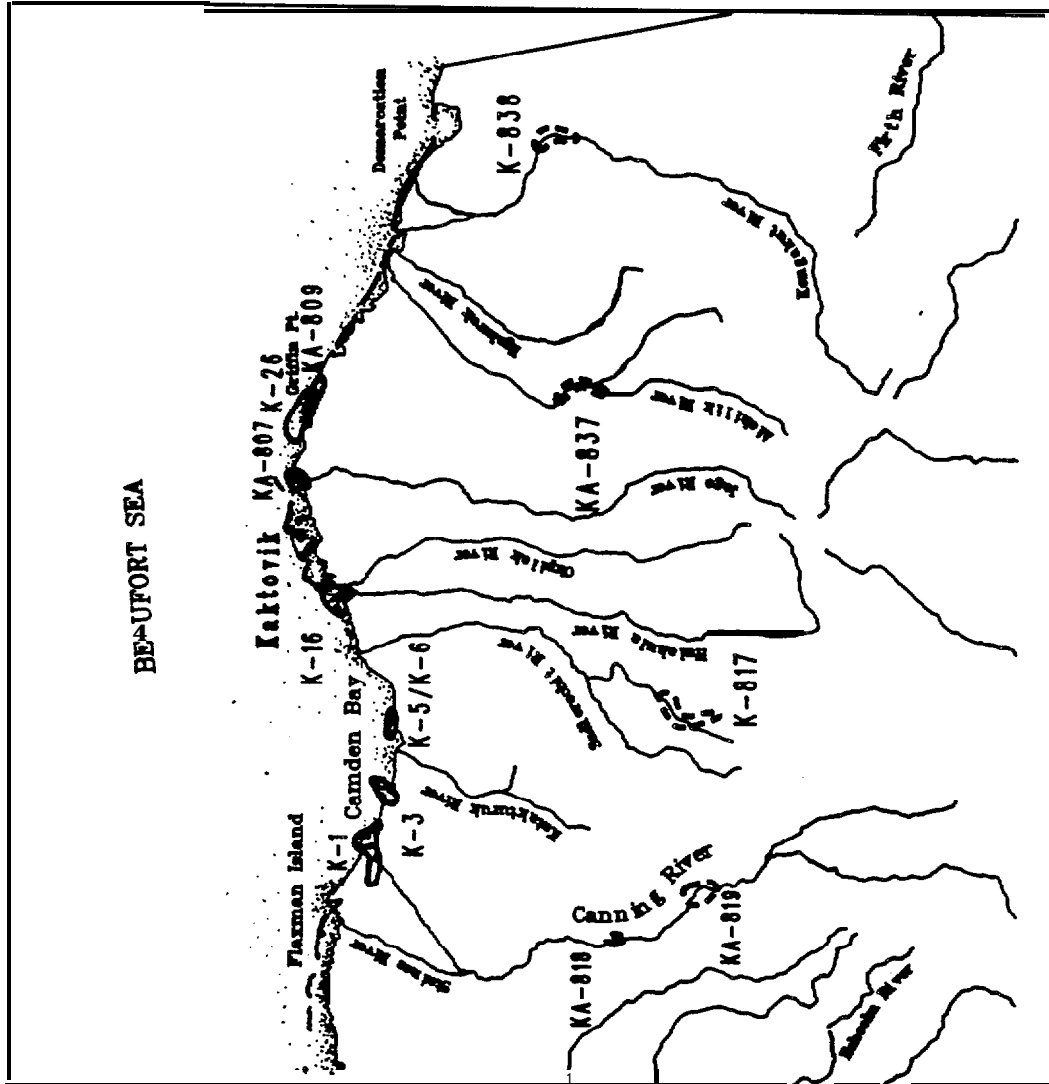
The areas represented are not meant to define the complete use areas for the species in question. The mapped areas are merely those areas discussed in the text. These are the most commonly used areas and in the majority of cases probably constitute a good part of the total use area, but Inupiat subsistence patterns are so flexible that all boundaries are artificial and misleading. These maps are not definitive and should be used only in conjunction with interpretative information from the text.

**SUBSISTENCE
HARVEST AREAS
KAKTOVIK
(PART I of II)
Fish Areas
Discussed in Text**

LEGEND
--- Jig
— Net

40 m
1 inch = approximately 25.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.



Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990

LEGEND

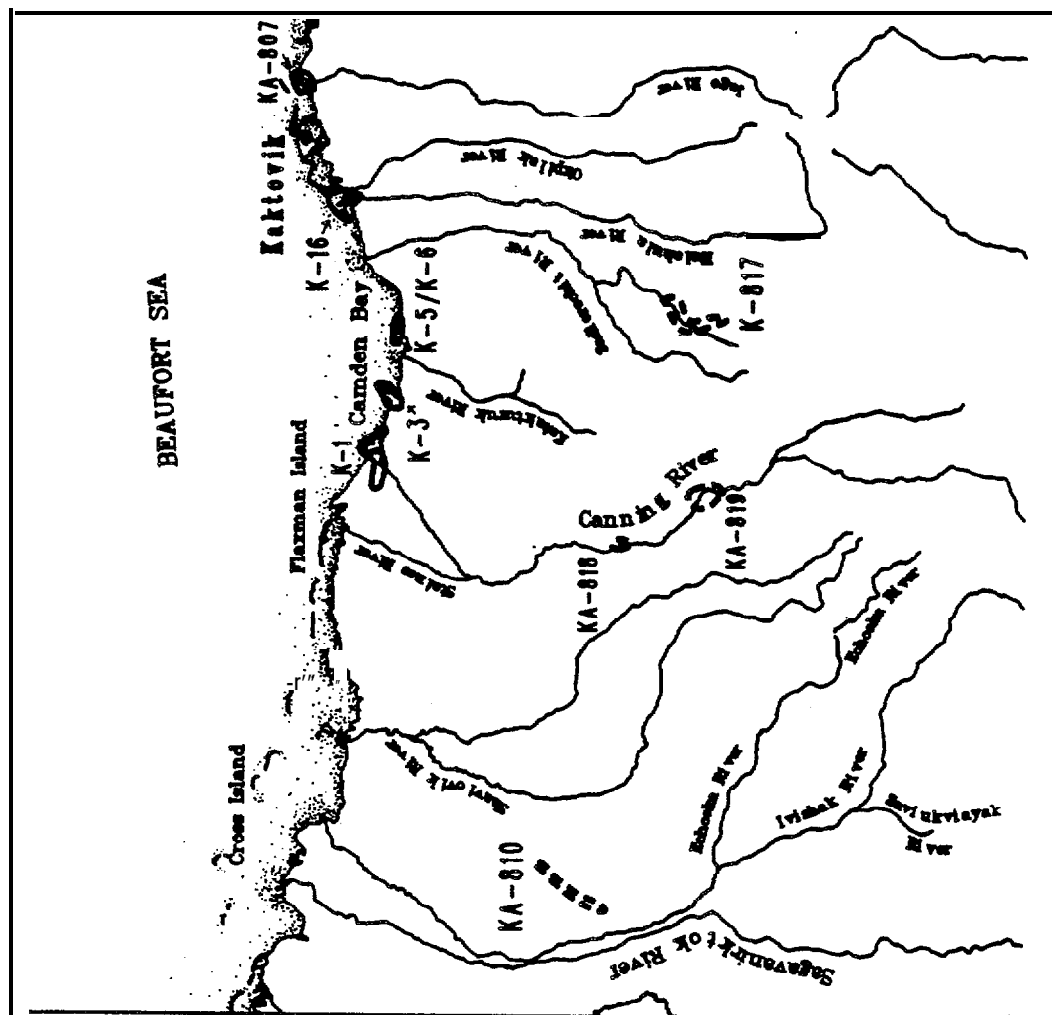
--- Hig

--- Not

0 20 40 miles

1 inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.



Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990

SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS KAKTOVIK

Furbearer Areas
Discussed in Text

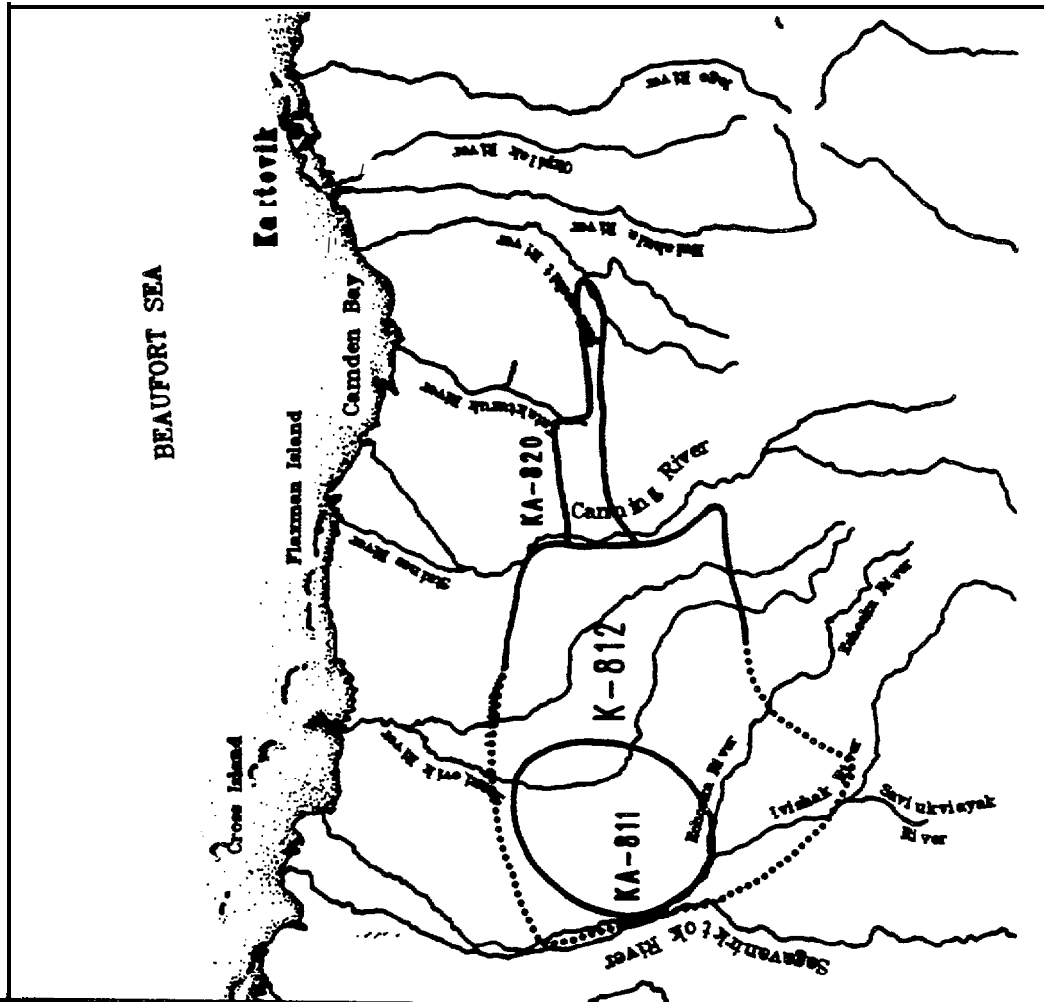
LEGEND

- Part
- Present
- Present, estimated

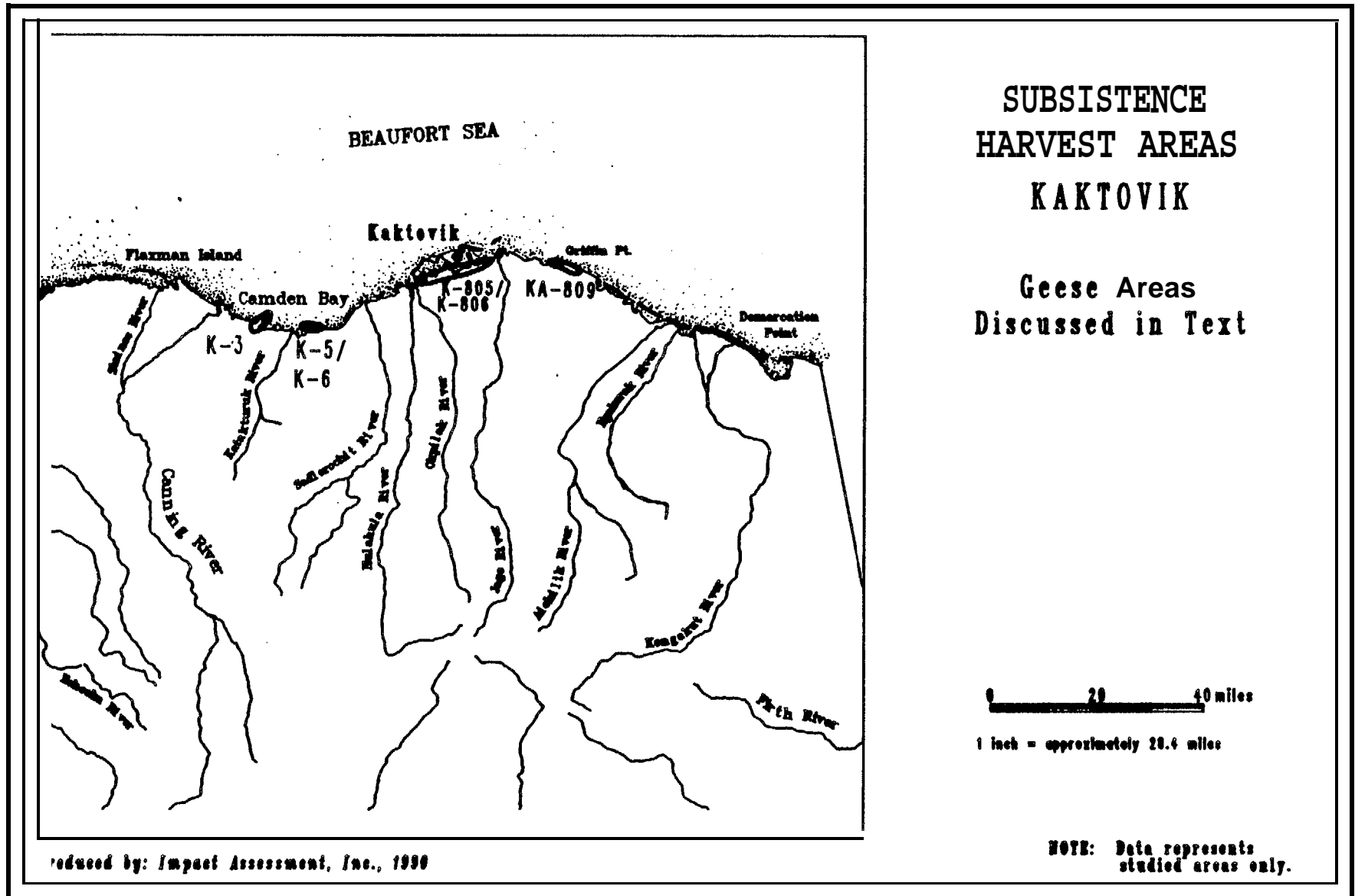


1 inch = approximately 22.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.



Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1980

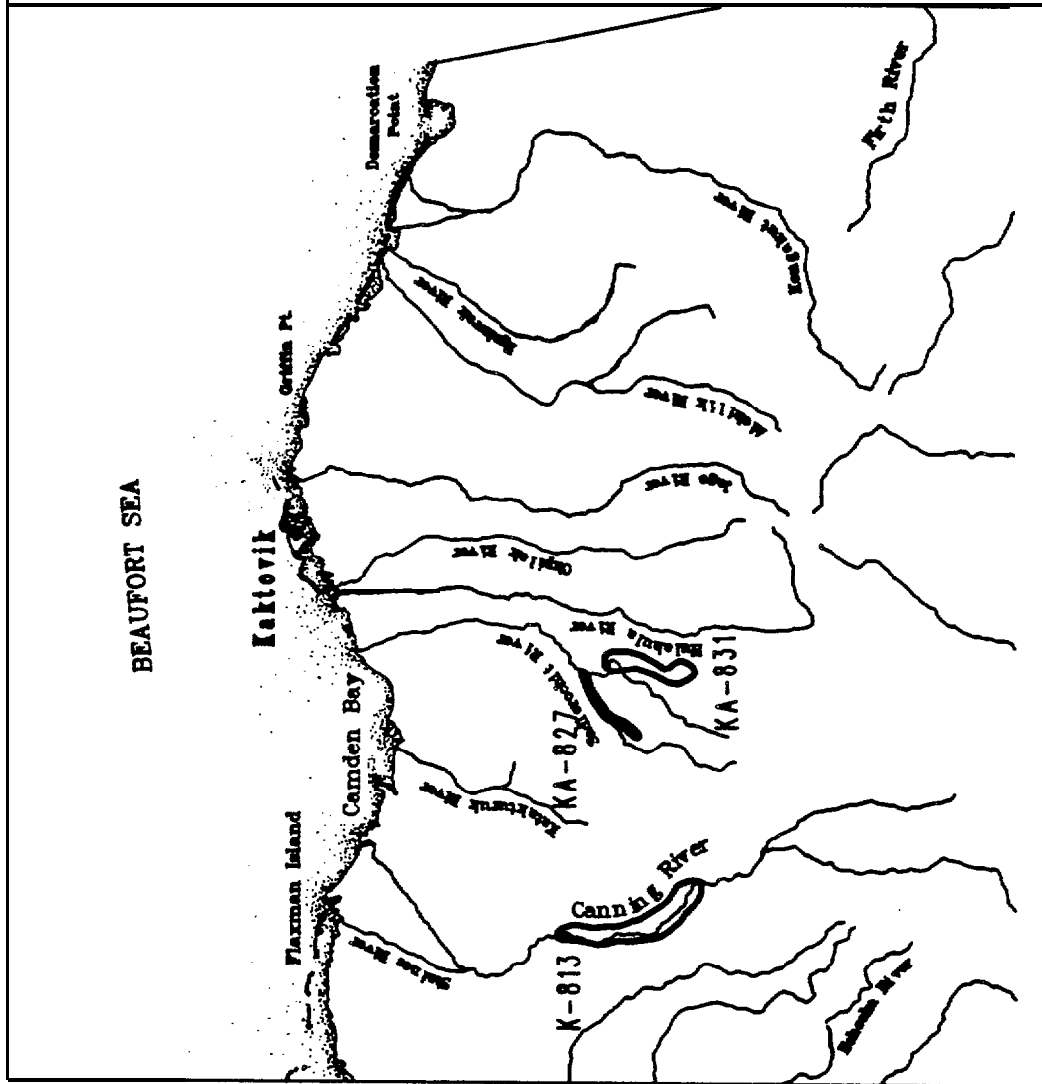


SUBSISTENCE HARVEST AREAS KAKTOVIK

Moose Areas
Discussed in Text

40 miles
inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.

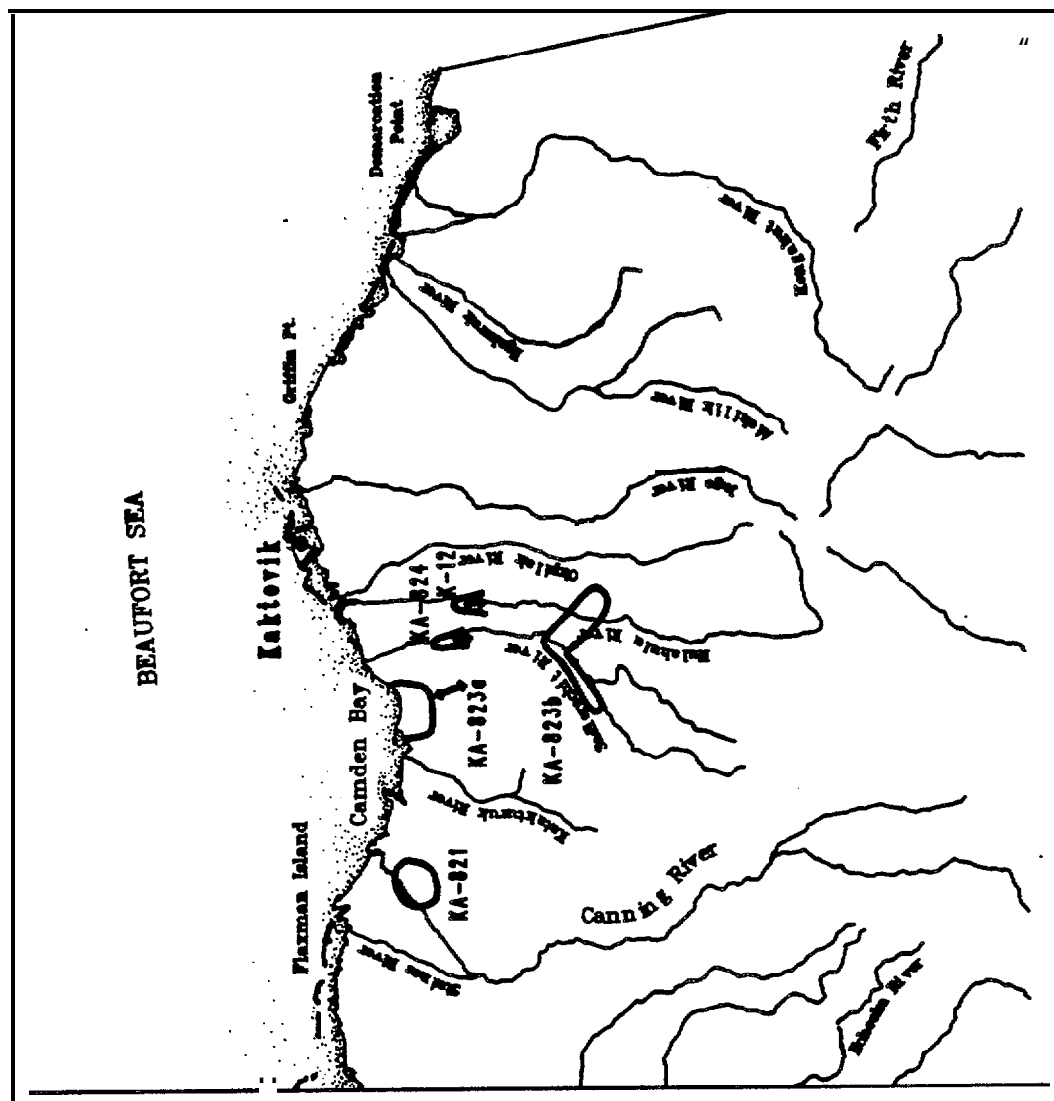


Produced by: Impact Assessment, Inc., 1990

Muskoren Areas Discussed in Text

0 20 40 miles
Inch = approximately 20.4 miles

NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.

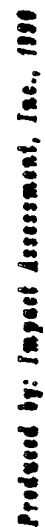


Revised by: Forest Service, Inc. 1990

**NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.**



NOTE: Data represents
studied areas only.



As the Nation's principal **conservation** agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The **Department** assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interest of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in Island Territories under U.S. Administration,

